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PALAEOGRAPHIA LATINA

PART I.

EDITED BY

Professor W. M. LINDSAY.

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PREFACE.

Under the title 'Palaeographia Latina' I propose to issue a journal of Latin Palaeography, particularly of Latin book-script until the middle of the eleventh century. In this venture I have the help of Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton College, and Dr. J. Cunningham, Member of the St Andrews University Court.

The journal will be cosmopolitan. Articles in French, Italian, German will be as welcome as those in English. Will writers of articles and senders of books (or articles) for review (or short notice) please direct them to the address: Prof. W. M. Lindsay, The University, St Andrews, Scotland, and write in the corner of the envelope the words 'Palaeographia Latina'. I hope that two parts will appear each year.

The publisher is Mr. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, London (E. C.); and the price of each part is, for the present at least, five shillings.

The first part, printed in Rome, I dedicate to my dead friend, Abbé Paul Liebaert. His teacher, Padre Ehrle, has helped not merely by giving advice on its form and contents but by piloting it through the press.

W. M. LINDSAY.

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THE LETTERS IN EARLY LATIN MINUSCULE

(till c. 850).

BY W. M. LINDSAY.

Wattenbach's account of the developement of Latin script was very useful in its day. Here I attempt to bring it (or part of it) up to date. For the form of the letters I refer the reader to the facsimiles in Sir E. M. Thompson's Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography (a book which every reader of this journal is sure to have) since the only satisfactory plan is to shew the form actually used by a scribe in a word. Where this book failed me, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum came to my aid and gave me spare copies of as many suitable Palaeographical Society plates as he could lay his hands on. From these (only six, alas!) I have cut out the words photographed in the appended Plate I (nos. 1-20). Where neither of these two means was possible, I fell back on Wattenbach's plan and imitated the letter-forms with my own hand (nos. 21 sqq.).

In writing this account I have sought to help (1) palaeographers, by supplying suitable names under which this or that form can be referred to (e. g. ' cursive Insular *e* '), and (2) Latin scholars, by shewing what letters and ligatures of letters were most easily mistaken by medieval transcribers.

By the symbol ' Introd. ' is meant Sir E. M. Thompson's book; by ' Ir. Min. ' and ' Wel. Scr. ', my two booklets (now published by Mr. Milford) on Early Irish Minuscule and on Early Welsh Script; by ' Not. Lat. ' my Notae Latinae. The others will be easily understood (e. g. ' Rev. Bibl. ' for the Revue des Bibliothèques).

A.

1. In the minuscule script of our period we may distinguish the ' uncial ' type (Plate I 21) from the ' half-uncial ' type (Pl. I 22). Both of these types have many varieties, and both appear side by side in many scripts.

I. The ' uncial ' type. A Merovingian variety (Pl. I 23) attaches the loop to the shaft of the letter by a short stroke (see Rev. Bibl. 24, 21). An Insular (i. e. Irish or Welsh or Anglosaxon) variety (Pl. I 24) turns the loop into an isosceles triangle (see ' Ir. Min. ' pl. 7) Half-way between the ' uncial ' and ' half-uncial ' types stands another Insular form, the ' high-backed ' *a*, resembling *b* of the earliest cursive (until the 4.th or 5.th centuries; see ' Introd. ' facs. 101, 104 and pp. 336, 337), and for us — as for medieval transcribers — liable to confusion with *d* (cf. *d* at the end of the 6.th last line of facs. 97). A mistake like *duo* for *avo* should suggest an Insular exemplar with ' high-backed ' *a* (cf. Zeitschr. Celt. Phil. 9, 306).

II. The ' half-uncial ' type. The circle may be closed or open (at the top). Of the closed form the only variety which calls for notice is that resembling the ligature *oc* and productive of mistakes like *doctus* for *datus*. It was perhaps in the Beneventan minuscule of the subsequent period that the danger of this mistake was most acute.

2. The open form demands a fuller treatment. It is the only form recognized by Visigothic minuscule, in which *t* (see below, s. v.) had in our period a shape like the closed form of *a*. And it is a characteristic feature of all early minuscule. The rough-and-ready rule for dating Caroline minuscule is well known — that a predominance of ' open ' *a* indicates a date not later than the 9.th century. A very open and fairly large *a*, with its two tapering horns, is one of the outstanding features of an early type of Corbie minuscule which I call in these pages the ' Corbie en-type '. The two curves become angles in a Corbie MS. of « 7 cent. » at Petrograd (Q. I 14 Gregory's Homilies), and this ' angular ' *a* is the characteristic feature of the Laon az-script and gives the script its name (' Introd. ' facs. 125; cf. Rev. Bibl. 24, 15 sqq.). The two curves get knobs at the top in other (1) script, so that *a* resembles

(1) There is no ground for calling this *a* which resembles *cc* ' Merovingian '.

cc and a mistake like *succedito* for *sua edito* becomes possible. In the Corbie ab-script only the second curve gets a knob, and *a* resembles *ic* (*datus* resembles *dictus*; see ' Introd. ' facs. 128 and Rev. Bibl. 22, 405 sqq).

3. All these modifications are precautions against the danger of confusing ' open ' *a* with *u*. This confusion in a transcript hardly gives a satisfactory clue to the exemplar. For all minuscule scripts in their early stage use ' open ' *a*, and often the only real difference between ' open ' *a* and *u* is that the former ends in a (slightly) upward curve while the latter does not (see below, s. v. ' U '). Perhaps the danger was greatest for transcribers of a Visigothic or Insular minuscule exemplar; although a MS. in which it might be called an inevitable pitfall for any transcriber, Carlsruhe Reich. 57 Isidore's Etymologies, seems lo have been written at Verona (in a unique type of script) in the 8.th century (see Holder in ' Mélanges Chatelain '). The danger is often increased by the presence of another of the many *a*-types in a neighbouring syllable. I noticed in a Milan MS. (B 159 sup.), written at Bobbio c. 750, the words *sepulchrum parare* (in an apparently contemporary minuscule entry on fol. 133r) written with the ' open ' type in the first and the ' uncial ' in the second syllable of *parare*. Nine out of ten transcribers would write *purare*, since the open *a* of *pa* bears far closer resemblance to the *u* of *sepulchrum* than to the *a* of *ra*.

4. Cursive script of all parts of the Continent loved to write *a* (in open form) above the line and connected with the following letter. Sometimes the *a* stands directly above the following letter (see the ligature ag in the last two lines of ' Introd. ' facs. 114; it might be mistaken for ga). More often it stands high to the left or (e. g. the ligature *ad* in line 2 of ' Introd. ' facs. 115; the ligature *at* of the second last line of ' Introd. ' facs. 131) fairly high. This cursive feature disappears from most book-hands about (1) the end of the eighth century. But not from Visigothic (e. g. in Madrid Acad. Hist. 25 Isidore's Etymologies, of. 946 A. D., *at*; in Madrid Tol. 10. 25, of 902 A. D., *at, am, ar*; in Escurial a I 13, foll. 1-187, of 912 A. D., sometimes *as*. etc.). The resemblance of *an* so

(1) In a Flavigny MS. of 816, Leyden Scal. 28, *haec* often shews it. In Oxford Bodl. 849, of the year 818, *ax* of ' pax '.

written to a common form of *Z* is mentioned below (s. v. ' Z '). The suprascript *a* of e. g. a Rheims MS., Leyden Voss. Q. 60 (" 8-9 cent. "), of small size and angular (instead of curved) perhaps deserves mention. Its *at* (with the ' branch ' of *t* wanting) might also be mistaken for *Z*.

5. But Insular scribes save space by writing *a* (in open (1) form) not above but below the line and connected with the preceding (not the following) letter, e. g. *na* (see Pl. I 1 ' *na*sonis '). This ' subscript ' *a* is not uncommon in the Continental minuscule of centres like Murbach (e. g. Gotha I 85 Canones Murbacenses, with *ma*, *na*), Cambrai (e. g. the half-uncial Cambrai 441 has it in *ma* on fol. 76^{v}), etc., where Insular script was also practised. ' Suprascript ' *a* in the Insular minuscule of our period I have found only in the Book of Armagh (along with ' subscript ' *a*), where it generally shews the closed form, but occasionally (see ' Introd. ' facs. 137, *ad* in the 5.th last line of col. ii) the open.

6. Of the early history of the ligature *ae* a few statistics have been published (by U. Robert in ' Mélanges Jul. Havet ' 1895), but only a few. The different methods of expression may be classified as follows, although the boundary-lines between this and that variety are occasionally effaced in practice.

1. with both elements equally preserved. Uncial *ae* becomes as in Pl. I 25, and half-uncial becomes as in Pl. I 26. Both, but especially the first, are confusible with a *te* ligature (§ 115).

2. with the *e* reduced, the early treatment of *e* in ligatures (§ 29). For example, in the Bamberg Gennadius we find the form of Pl. I 27.

3. with the *a* reduced, either (1) as in Pl. I 1 ' *ae*quora ', or (2) as in Pl. I 28.

4. with *a* appended in the form of a mere cedilla or loop to *e*; either (from the second variety of no. 3) as in Pl. I 29, or (from the Merovingian form of *a*; § 1) Pl. I 30 (as in the Laon az-script), or (from the first variety of no. 3?) Pl. I 31, or else (with a conventional mark) Pl. I 32.

The fourth method is found as early as the half-uncial Basilican Hilary of the year 509. The first variety of no. 3

(1) Seldom closed (e. g. ' Ir. Min. ' pl. v., *ma* in the 7.th last line of col. i and the 10.th last of col. ii).

is affected in the Irish half-uncial of the Cathach (written probably by Saint Columba's own hand) the Book of Durrow, the Garland of Howth. For the ' Merovingian ' variety of no. 4 may be cited the uncial Trèves Gospels, written in 719; for the third variety of no. 4, the Salaberga Psalter; for the first, the Maihingen Gospels (written probably at Echternach about 740), and so on. The cedilla will be seen at the end of ' Introd. ' facs. 129 ' superbi*ae* '. The Moore Bede (written apparently at Le Mans, c. 737) has both the second variety of no. 3 and the third of no. 4 (see ' Introd. ' facs. 142, line 10). The long loop appendage (seen in facs. 130, line 9) appears often in the Book of Kells.

The *oe* ligature, sometimes identical with the second variety of no. 3, is even rarer in the minuscule of our period than is the diphthong *oe* in the Latin vocabulary.

B.

7. In minuscule we find only the half-uncial form (like our b) not the uncial (like our B); although there are one or two examples of the latter; e. g. Oxford lat. theol. d. 3 (of unknown provenance) and Cassel th. Q. 24 (written at Fulda when Servatus Lupus was a monk there) offer it occasionally. Some scribes of Anglosaxon half-uncial add a downward curve at the top of the *b* (on the right), e. g. one scribe of the Lindisfarne Gospels (also in Durham A II 17 and the Salaberga Psalter). But since the same addition appears at the top of *l* and *h* (in the Salaberga Psalter), it should not be called a trace of the upper round of uncial B. No more should the branch which shoots out from the middle of the shaft in the cursive of the Frankish Empire. It is rather a mere connecting link between *b* and the following letter. Sometimes it is arched; and this is the usual form when *b* is connected with a following letter in the Luxeuil type (see ' Introd. ' facs. 124, line 6 ' bet '). More often it is a straight horizontal stroke, and *b* with this appendage is a characteristic feature of the Corbie ab-script (see ' Introd. ' facs. 128, line 2 ' bi ', ' bo ', line 4 ' bu ') as well as of the " N. E. France " minuscule of Autun 20, Montpellier Ville 3, and is common in the Merovingian bookhand of London Harl. 5041, Berne 611, St Gall 214. The Corbie ab-scribes often leave an interval between

the main part of the lower curve of the letter and the dot or knob in which this curve should end. A 'gappy' *b* of this kind might sometimes be mistaken for *t*.

8. 'Open' *b* (with the round at the base of the letter not continued back as far as the shaft) is a cursive usage which was not expelled from bookhand for some time. Of Beneventan minuscule we are told (Loew 'Ben. Scr.' p. 134) that *b* is more often open than closed in the ninth century. For other minuscule, statistics have not yet been collected. Certainly the closed form is no sure criterion of a late date in our period, for (to mention only one piece of evidence) the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of the Bologna Lactantius shews both the closed and the open forms of the letter.

9. The shaft of *b* (as of *t*) was straight in half-uncial. In Insular half-uncial however the shafts of *b* and *l* bulge out to the left (see 'Introd.' facs. 135-136, 140-141); and this Insular peculiarity (which often found its way into minuscule) appears on the other side of the Channel and characterizes what Delisle (in his 'L'Evangéliaire de Saint Vaast d'Arras') called the 'calligraphie franco-saxonne'.

10. In cursive the scribe often began the letter *b*, or any long-shafted letter, with an upward hair-line on the left, so that the shaft of *b* (as of *l*, *d*, *h*) resembles a whip (with the thong on the left side). This cursive feature appears even in the Irish half-uncial of the Ussher Gospels (see 'Introd.' facs. 134, line 3 *h*, line 4 *l*) and the Veronese half-uncial of Verona 59 Vigilius Tapsensis, etc. It was not expelled from minuscule until the latter part of our period (e. g. Stuttgart H. B. VII 39, written at Constance 811-839, and Paris 2123, of 795-816, offer examples of the 'whip'-shaft).

11. Another cursive freak was to break the continuity of the shaft of *b* (and of *l*) near the base and make a sudden turn to the left. The letter *b* so written seems to end in a hook. This 'hooked' *b* was greatly favoured in the Corbie ab-type (see 'Introd.' facs. 128) and (with a similar *l*) in the Merovingian bookhand of London Harl. 2414-3, Berne 611. It often appears (usually with a similar *l*) in the earlier minuscule of our period, e. g. Epinal 68 Jerome's Letters (of 744); Einsiedeln 27, foll. 1-24 Ascetica ("8 cent."); Cassel th. Q. 10 Augustine, etc. (Fulda, "8 cent.").

12. But the most violent contortion in cursive script of the regular form of *b* and *l* is that extraordinary sinuous type of shaft seen in ' Introd. ' facs. 126, line 6 ' a*l*i*b*i '. The sinuosity is not very pronounced in this specimen taken from London Harl. 5041 (Merovingian), but we find veritable ' corkscrew ' patterns on other pages of this MS.

13. In calligraphic minuscule a short horizontal stroke sometimes caps the shaft of *b* (also *d*, *l*, *h*), especially in one species (e. g. Cambrai 624) of that class designated by Traube (' Palaeographische Bemerkungen ', p. 1) ' between Gallic half-uncial and minuscule ', and assigned to the 7.th and 8.th centuries.

C

14. In cursive script *c* was usually higher (often much higher) than ordinary letters. A ' high ' (or highish) *c* is not at all uncommon in the minuscule book-hands of especially the early part of our period (Munich 14437, of the year 823, is a fairly late example from Continental script; for a later from Insular see ' Introd. ' facs. 138). Some scribes employ it only (or by preference when *c* is connected with a following letter especially *o*). The temptation of later transcribers to substitute *e* may be appreciated from a glance at the e-ligatures in, e. g., facs. 139 of ' Introd. ' In a St Bertin MS., St Omer 15 Hieronymi Breviarium, ' high ' *c* ends at the top in a knob turned to the left, and the same ' antenna ' type (commoner in *e*; q. v.) appears in Laon 68.

15. The lower part of *c* (as of *e*, etc.) was in cursive script often separated from the upper. This fashion of writing *c* with two strokes of the pen (see ' Introd. ' facs. 131, line 8; facs. 134, line 1) produced in many types a knob-projection at the back of the letter; see ' Introd. ' facs. 128 for examples from the Corbie ab-type, in which this formation is normal; facs. 124, line 8 for an example from the Luxeuil type; facs. 125, line 8 and line 9 ' co ' for examples from the Laon az-type.

16. In other types the upper part of ' high ' *c* took the form of another *c* (as in Pl. I 3 ' unicum ', 4 ' sacrificia '). This variety is usually called ' broken ' *c*, although it seems better to assign this general name to any *c* which is written with two separate strokes of the pen, and to call this special va-

riety ' double ' *c*. The ' double ' *c* is a feature of Italian script, first of that minuscule cultivated in North Italy before the supremacy of Caroline minuscule (§ 64), then of its successor the Beneventan script (of South Italy). But it is found elsewhere too in the eighth century (e. g. Cambrai 619 Canones Hibernenses, written at Cambrai 763-790; Epinal 68 Jerome's Letters, of 744); At St Gall it persist till after our period (e. g. St Gall 46, of 872-883).

17. Of its former universal prevalence a trace has been left in the ligature *ct* which, we may say, everywhere in Continental script exhibits the ' double ' *c* form (cf. ' Introd. ' facs. 152, line 5 ' docti '); although divergences are not unknown, the most notable being a Bobbio type ' recumbent ' *t* (§ 108) which may sometimes be mistaken for *.x* or *o.x* or *e.x* (Pl I 33), e. g. Vat. lat. 5763, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 64, Modena O I 17, all three MSS. of Isidore's Etymologies, written at Bobbio in the beginning or middle of the 8.th century.

18. Of other ligatures of *c* with a following letter the commonest is *co* (Pl. I 34), found in the Corbie ab-script and in some 8.th cent. MSS., e. g. Fulda D. 1 Codex Theodosianus (written at Constance), Verona 33 Augustinus de Agone Christiano (written at Verona). In Luxemburg 68 Echternach, " 8-9 cent. ") it appears in the cursive entry *contuli*, but not in the text. The letter becomes a mere circle (as does *t* in Spanish ligatures; see below, s. v.) in the rare ligature *cc* (Pl. I 35), found in Epinal 68 (written at Murbach in 744), e. g. ' o*cc*asio ', in Milan L 99 sup. (written at Bobbio, perhaps about the same time), in the Milan Maximus (along with a similar *ce*, etc.; ' Introd. ' facs. 114, line 6), etc. On the ligature *ec* see § 111.

D.

19. The uncial type (Pl. I 36) is as common as the half-uncial (like our d) in most of the minuscule of our period and in some scripts (e. g. Beneventan) even commoner. It was a convenient way of writing the letter without lifting the pen, and was quite at home in cursive script. The marginalia in ' ancient minuscule ', e. g. of the Bembine Terence, use it freely (in ' open ' form) along with a disjointed variety of the half-uncial letter (Pl. I 37), and this pair (uncial and ' disjointed '

half-uncial *d*) appear in several early Insular MSS. of Bobbio (e. g. the Naples Charisius), Fulda (e. g. Cassel theol. F 22), etc.

20. Insular scribes who used the 'high-backed' variety of *a* (see § 1) would find dangerously similar the 'half-uncial' *d* in its regular shape (1). A shape which (partially) escaped the danger was one appropriate to *d* when connected with a preceding letter, a very open *d* with the left side of the round bent backward at the top ('Introd.' facs. 125, line 4 *od*; facs. 128, line 3 *ed*). This shape was found convenient by Insular scribes, and in their hands often suffers that peculiarly 'Insular' modification, the insertion of an angle at the middle part of the round. (On a similar treatment of the letter *q* see below, s. v.). 'Introd.' facs. 137, taken from the Book of Armagh, shews 'uncial' *d* employed throughout, with the 'ligature' form of 'half-uncial' *d* used occasionally, not merely in the ligature *ed* (col. i, line 1) but also independently (col. ii, line 4, line 9). In the word 'audierunt' (col. i, line 6) the *a* has the 'high-backed' form, the *d* (as usual) the 'uncial' form. In facs. 138, a page from the Leyden Priscian, only the 'uncial' form appears, although in other pages of this MS. the 'half-uncial' especially the 'open' variety) is not unknown.

21. 'Open' *d* (like 'open' *b*, *p*, *q*) is a test of the age of Latin MSS., but, until statistics have been collected, caution is necessary in applying it. 'Close' *d* appears (often along with 'open') in many MSS. which undoubtedly belong to the 8.th century, e. g. Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 81 (of the year 772), Cologne 98 and 91, Vat. Pal. 187, London Add. 18304, and is normal (except when the letter is connected with a preceding letter) in the Laon az-type, the Corbie ab-type, etc.

22. A better criterion for distinguishing the older MSS. of our period is the projection of the shaft of 'half-uncial' *d* below the line. We find it in Merovingian book-hand (and, of course, cursive), in the Laon az-type, the "N. E. France" minuscule, the Corbie ab-type, and other pre-Caroline scripts evolved from cursive, e. g. Epinal 68 (of 744), Cambrai 619 (of 763-790), sometimes in the North Italian minuscule of Milan Trivulz. 688 (written at Novara before 800), etc. It may be

(1) In the Bobbio Irish minuscule of Florence Ashb. 60, in which the regular shape of *d* is used, the reader finds himself continually confusing, e. g., *quid* and *quia*.

taken as evidence that a MS. is not later than the 8.th century (if we except its traditional survival in the Corbie ab-type to the early part of the 9.th).

23. 'Open' *d* (of the 'half-uncial' form) was, when the curve terminated in a knob at the top, dangerously like *cl*. A cursive variety (like Greek minuscule Delta) of the 'uncial' form was often dangerously like pre-Caroline *o*. It had a slight curve to the right at the top (see 'Introd.' p. 337, the Amherst Papyrus *d*). This 'Delta' variety, so frequent in the cursive of all countries (e. g. in the subscriptions in the Basilican Hilary), finds its way into book-hand, e. g. occasionally in Cologne 41 (of Hildebald's time), in the Bangor Antiphonary (Irish half-uncial of 680-691), the group of MSS. at Munich written for Princess Kisyla (Charlemagne's sister), the rude uncial of St Gall 912. When the slight curve is prolonged in a hair-line down half the length of the letter or more (as in the cursive Irish script of the Book of Dimma), the resemblance to cursive *o* ceases and the letter approximates to that variety already cited from the Bembine Terence marginalia. For other modifications of the shaft of *d* see above, § 10, § 13.

E.

24. Uncial *e* (Pl. I 38) may be compared to an open mouth with a tongue. Half-uncial *e* (like our e) makes the upper half resemble an archer's bow, but half-uncial scribes often retained the uncial form (made taller than ordinary letters) when *e* was connected with a following letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 98, line 4 *et*, *er*, line 5 *em*, line 7 *er*, line 8 *ex*, line 9 *ep*, line 10 *eg*, line 13 *et*). This tallish 'uncial' *e* in ligatures (the tongue of the *e* making the first part of the following letter) is a feature of most minuscule scripts of our period. Perhaps it catches the eye more in an early type of Corbie minuscule than in any other. The sloping tallish *e* (ending at the top in a tag like a beetle's head) in ligatures like *em*, the very open *a* with tapering horns), the maiuscule *n* (like our N) are the three characteristic features of this script, which I style the 'Corbie en-type'.

25. To the 'beetle-head' variety, so dear to the early scribes of Corbie, some other scribes (e. g. the Cambrai scribes of Cambrai 619, the Trèves scribes of Munich 28118) prefer

an ' antenna ' variety, with the top curved backwards into a knob, and (like the ' antenna ' shape of *c*; § 14) the letter is often sloped upwards so as to tower above the other letters. The high ' antenna ' *e* is affected by the Micy scriptorium, bat is found in other quarters too (e. g. London Add. 18332, a MS. of Carinthia). All scribes, when the ' bow ' of ' half-uncial ' *e* was accidentally filled with ink, were prone to preserve the identity of the letter by means of a long (or longish) stroke sloping upwards. But even when the ' bow ' remains intact we find this excrescence occasionally (e. g. it is a feature of a Rheims MS., Leyden 114), sometimes ending in a knob to the left, e. g. in Leyden Scal. 28 (written at Flavigny), sometimes in a knob to the right, e. g. in Boulogne 66 Augustine contra Cresconium (written at St Bertin).

26. These elongations of *e* are an inheritance from cursive script, in which *e* (like *c*; § 14) was often exaggerated in height and length. Cursive often substitutes for the ' bow ' of half-uncial *e* a long upward-sloping narrow loop, and perhaps the cursive of North Italy may be singled out for this peculiarity: Examples will be seen in ' Introd. ' facs. 114, where however the length and narrowness of the loop are not so marked as in other early specimens of the Bobbio scriptorium (e. g. the Naples Gesta Pontificum and Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 64).

27. The loop was the result of writing elongated ' uncial ' *e* without lifting the pen. The pen forms the loop by coming down from the top of the ' mouth ' of the *e* to the point where the ' tongue ' has to be made. Another one-stroke method was this. Beginning at the right end of the upper curve of the C (the open ' mouth ') the pen nearly completes the C, but when it reaches the lower curve it makes that curve turn to the left, instead of to the right, and finishes its course by inserting the tongue (Pl. I 39). This ' eight-figure ' *e*, although found elsewhere (e. g. in the early cursive of Lombardy), may be called par excellence the Insular cursive form. From Insular cursive it found its way into Insular bookhand and was sometimes written conventionally like a long sloping narrow *f* see Pl. I 5 ' versus '). The ' conventional ' shape is a characteristic (with a long and narrow *g* and a very open *q*; § 87) of an early type of Anglosaxon minuscule (e. g. Petrograd

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Q. I 15). The 'figure eight' shape is much more common (see Zentr. Biblw. 1908, p. 290; Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 306), and appears even (presumably an Insular importation) in the Continental script of such MSS. as Cologne 40 (written at Cologne), Paris nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius (written at Tours). When the two loops of the 8 are, as frequently happens, left incomplete it might be mistaken for *s*.

28. The reserve process was also possible. The pen might begin at the right end of the lower curve of the C and make the upper curve turn to the left (Pl. I 40). This is a favourite method with Continental scribes in such ligatures as *ei* (e. g. in London Cotton Nero A ii, written at Verona), *eo* (e. g. in Berne 611, of a Merovingian type), and, above all, *et*. On fol. 47^{r} of the Cologne MS. just mentioned, Cologne 40, 'et retro' has the first *e* written in this Continental cursive fashion, the second written in the Insular cursive fashion. An early example of *ex* with this sort of *e* will be found in the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of the Vienna Hilary. But this 'Continental cursive' *e* is also known in Insular script, e. g. in the Book of Mulling *ec*, *ei*, *eo*, *ex*.

29. In cursive script *e* is often broken into two parts. In the word 'gestarum' in 'Introd.' facs. 114, line 1, the lower part is united with the head of the *g* and the upper part (the 'bow') is added separately (cf. line 3 pra*e*, line 5 patr*e*m, etc.). On a similar treatment of *c* see above, § 16. This fashion of writing *e* (and *c*) with two strokes of the pen produced in many types a knob-projection at the back of the letter, as will be noticed (both in *e* and in *c*) in 'Introd.' facs. 128 (the Corbie ab-type). This projection is more exaggerated in an 8.th century MS. from Fulda library, Cassel theol. O. 5, than in any MS. which I have seen. The *e* of 'et' in this MS. suggests at the first glance the letter R, the *e* of 'es' suggests B.

30. The term 'broken' *c* we proposed to extend to any minuscule *c* written with separate strokes of the pen, instead of restricting it (as is usually done) to a particular variety resembling one *c* standing on another. There is a form of *e* analogous to this 'double' *c*. It is the *e* so characteristic of Beneventan minuscule (see 'Introd.' facs. 120) and of its predecessor, the North Italian, and is the favourite formation with many scribes.

31. In Beneventan and North Italian the two parts of the letter are equal in size, and the letter is not so tall as the analogous *c*. Elsewere the loop set on the top of the c-like substructure is often greatly reduced in size (see the *e* of 'et' in line 3 of 'Introd.' facs. 123 for a not very pronounced specimen). Again Insular scribes (and others) love to expand the upper half at the expense of the lower in such ligatures as *en* (Pl. I 41), *ei* (Pl. I 42). In fact there is hardly a letter of the alphabet (see § 110) capable of being written in so many forms and with so varied a manipulation of the pen. On the ligatures *ae*, *oe*, *et*, *eo*, *ex* see § 6, 110, 111, 133.

32. Of the rest the leaf-shaped *ep* ligature is the most worthy of mention (see 'Introd.' fasc. 114, line 6), though confined to the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of the Bologna Lactantius and of Paris 12214 + Petrograd Q I 4, etc., and to the cursive types of the Paris Avitus, the Milan Hegesippus, Lucca 490; etc., the Corbie en-type of Paris 4403[A] Codex Theodosianus (also in the Corbie ab-type of Donaueschingen 18, e. g. fol. 159[r]). Initial Q is sometimes written in this 'leaf' form.

F.

33. We may conveniently, if not quite correctly, distinguish (1) the 'half-uncial' (like our F, but with the upper branch arched), (2) the 'minuscule' (like our f, but very rarely standing on the line), (3) the 'looped' (Pl. I 43) varieties. The 'minuscule' is a rounded and narrowed 'half-uncial' the 'looped' a 'minuscule' written without lifting the pen. Perhaps the normal position of all three (or at least of the first) is with the (lower) branch resting on the line, and the normal position of *s* often coincides with that of *f*. But even where *s* is allowed to stand on the line, *f* is nearly always projected below the line more or less. Some scribes, e. g. Finguine in the St Gall Priscian, actually place the (lower) branch itself below the line. The 'looped' *f* is a cursive variety (e. g. in the marginalia of the Codex Claromontanus, in Lucca 490 sometimes), and in the book-hand of our period is usually confined to ligatures (e. g. *fr* and *fu* in Zürich Stadtbibl. C 12). Often the loop does not quite reach the shaft of the letter (e. g. *fo* in Cassel theol. Q 10 and London Harl. 5041,

fl in Epinal 68, *fr* in Liége 306), occasionally resembling an 'open' (1) p (e. g. *fe*, *fu* in Milan C 105 inf.).

34. Another cursive variety is 'split-backed' *f* (see 'Introd' facs. 114, line 2 for a not very pronounced example), found (along with a similarly formed *s*) in the earlier or less calligraphic Insular script of our period, e. g. the Book of Mulling, the Book of Dimma, Oxford Digby 63 (of c. 850; see 'Introd.' facs. 144). In the Laon az-type (see 'Introd.' facs. 125) the right side of the split is fantastically curved backwards; in the Luxeuil type both *f* and *s* (facs. 124) are often similarly treated. The crooked stem of 'minuscule' *f* in many MSS. of our period may be a relic of this Merovingian affectation.

35. The branch of *f* was a convenient connecting-line with a following letter. When the letter was *i*, 'dropped' *i* was conveniently suspended to the tip of the branch, thus dropping below the line if the branch rested on the line. When the branch and appendage were carelessly written together (with a curve instead of an angle), fi might be mistaken for *f*. Insular scribes had another way of writing *fi*, by means of the cursive Insular form of *i* or rather 'i longa', a long sinuous stroke. This stroke straggles down through the top of the *f* as far as the line or below: the branch of the *f* is omitted (see Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 304 sqq. for details). In a few early specimens of Insular script written on the Continent (e. g. the Irish script of Vienna 16 and the Naples Charisius, both written at Bobbio; the Anglosaxon script of London Egerton 2831, written at Tours) we find sometimes a third expression, the 'looped' form of *f* with the *i* appended (as a curve) to the lower end of the loop. the point where the loop touches the shaft. This third expression was discarded by Insular scribes. It was too dangerously like a common Insular expression of *si* (see 'Introd.' facs. 138, line 7 dionisia). In the phrase *figuram simul* on fol. 41^{r} of Vienna 16 (or in such a word as *significatum* in the Naples Charisius) the only difference between *fi* and *si* is that the loop touches the shaft in the first combination but not in the second. In an early

(1) When the following letter abutted on 'half-uncial' *f*, a close *p* might be suggested and, e. g., *fa* miscopied as *pa*.

specimen of the Anglosaxon script of St Bertin, Boulogne 63-64, the difference is effaced, for the scribe often writes *fi* (when he uses the 'looped' *f*) in the same careless way as he writes *fr*. without taking pains to bring the lower end of the loop as far as the shaft. Similarly in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of an Echternach (?) MS., Paris 9382 occasionally (e. g. magnificentia fol. 82r), and in the Anglosaxon minuscule of an Echternach MS., Paris 9527 (e. g. inter*fi*ciant fol. 66r)

36. Continental scribes (not Visigothic, who do not use 'looped' *f*) indulged themselves with this free-and-easy way of expressing *fi* (the cursive '*fi*nit' of the uncial Corbie Gospels, fol. 7r, is an early example) and abstained from writing *si* in combination. Therefore a Continental scribe can express *fi* precisely as an Insular scribe express *si*, and confusion of words like *sinit* and *finit* would be inevitable in the transcription of Continental script by Insular copyists or of Insular script by Continental. I have not found in any home insular MS. this combination put to the Continental use of expressing *fi*. The instances abready cited from the Insular script of Continental centres seem to be alien intrusions.

37. The *f* (*s*, etc.) of the Maurdramnus script of Corbie has a knob-like protuberance at the back of the letter. We may call it 'knob-backed' *f* (Pl. I 44). In Cassel theol. O. 5 there is sometimes actually a small loop at the back, so that *fa* (fol. 67r) might even be mistaken for *qua* (with suprascript arch for *u*; see below, s. v. 'U').

G.

38. The uncial, half-uncial and (Continental) minuscule types bear a rude resemblance to the Arabic numerals 9, 5, 3, except that the circle of the 9 is open on the right, the top-stroke of the 5 is prolonged to the left, and at the top of the 3 there is a short stroke to the right. Spanish minuscule adopted the uncial (1), Insular minuscule the half-uncial (2) form. An earlier uncial type, merely c with a tag added to the lower

(1) Spanish scribes often express *z* by the half-uncial g-form, e. g. the Toledo Bible (Madrid Tol. 2, 1).

(2) The uncial type I found occasionally in the Anglosaxon minuscule of Gotha I 75 Sedulius. In Insular half-uncial (e. g. the Salaberga Psalter, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Douce Primasius) it is often found.

end of the curve, was liable to be confused with *ci* (when written with 'dropped' *i*); so the tag was lengthened to prevent the confusion. In reading MSS. like Milan L 99 sup. Isidore's Etymologies (Bobbio, "mid. 8 cent."), Leyden Voss. Q 63 Gregory of Tours ("8 cent."), Vatí Pal. 554, foll. 5-12 (Anglosaxon, "8 cent"), one finds some difficulty at first in distinguishing *ci* from *g* (e. g. *adficiat* from *adfigat*). And early MSS. of Bobbio use an abbreviation of *cum*, the letter *c* followed by a sinuous vertical stroke (cutting the tail of the *c*) which might easily be miscopied as *g* (see 'Not. Lat.' p. 41). So might a rarer Insular 'cum' symbol, *c* followed by a 7-mark (Ibid. p. 360).

39. Some early specimens of Continental minuscule use all three types: Berlin th. F. 354 Gregory's Moralia (written apparently at Corbie, "mid. 8 cent."); the Maurdramnus Bible at Amiens (written at Corbie, 772-780); Paris nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius (written at Tours, "beg. 8 cent."); Oxford lat. theol. d 3 Commentary on Pentateuch (of unknown provenance); St Gall 70 Pauline Epistles (written at St Gall, c. 760); Verona 42 Gregory's Pastoralis Cura (written at Verona); Oxford Jun. 25, foll. 1-59 Ethici Cosmographia (written at Murbach, "8 cent."); Berne 611 + Paris 10756 (written, in part at least, before 721), and so on. All three appear in the cursive marginalia of the Codex Claromontanus (Paris grec. 107).

40. The use of two out of the three is extremely common. Indeed we may say that only Visigothic and Insular minuscule are restricted to one form (also Beneventan, although the half-uncial form appears in the Bamberg Cassiodorus). The freedom of choice does not surprise us since we find the uncial form encroaching on half-uncial script as early as the Vienna Hilary (written before 560); while the half-uncial form is frequent in the later specimens of uncial script: e. g. Munich 6278 Gregory's Moralia (written at Freising); Paris 9561 Gregory's Pastoralis Cura (written at St Bertin); Paris 4884 Victor of Tours. In the text of the uncial Trèves 36 Prosper (written at Trèves in 719) the uncial form is used, but in the apparently contemporary marginalia the half-uncial. That the Carolingian minuscule of Brittany makes frequent use of the Insular type of *g*, and the Carolingian minuscule of Aquitaine freely admits the Visigothic type is natural enough. But it

would be a great mistake to say that the use of the 9-form always points to Spanish influence, or even that the use of the 5-form is confined to Continental centres where Insular script was formerly or still practised.

41. Just as the 5-form is a developement of the 9-form (the upper part of the curve being replaced by a straight horizontal stroke), so the 3-form is a developement of the 5-form (the straight horizontal stroke being curved down on the left). The rough-and-ready rule for dating Carolingian minuscule, that the earlier specimens keep both bows of the 3 open while the closing of the upper or the lower bow or of both indicates a later date, justifies itself by the argument that the open form is least removed from the half-uncial parent type. That the rule has many exceptions will be seen from a glance at 'Introd.' facs. 154 and 155 (of the years 821 and 823, with the upper bow, and sometimes also the lower, closed) and facs. 158 (of about 840, with both bows open). Scribe A of the Ada Gospels closes both, scribe B keeps the lower open but sometismes closes the upper. The MSS. written at Cologne in Archbishop Hildebald's (794-818) shew both the open form and the form with the top bow closed and also the parent 5-form (with the horizontal stroke curved). The group of Mss. at Munich which were written for Princess Kisyla, Charlemagne's sister, shew the same trio.

42. But the substitution of a circle or loop for the upper bow of the 3-form is older than Carolingian minuscule. It was a feature of cursive script, the result of writing the 5-form without lifting the pen. Beginning at the right-hand side of the upper stroke (the cross-beam) the scribe curved that stroke dowwards on the left and, without lifting his pen, continued the curve into a circle or loop until he reached the centre of the upper stroke, from which point again he proceeded in a donnward direction with the rest of the letter. A bizarre Italian type of *g* illustrates the procedure (Pl. I 45). It appears in the cursive addition (foll. 117-118) in Verona 38 (written at Verona); in Vat. Barb. 679 Cresconii Canones (written at Farfa); iu Carlsruhe Reich. 222 Apocalypse, etc. (by the first of the scribes, presumably an Italian); also, slightly altered, in Milan C 105 inf. Hegesippus (written at Bobbio), etc. With this slightly altered form may be compared a Merovingian type

with the top-stroke sinuous throughout (see I 6 '*gessit*', 7 · sin*g*ulariter').

43. While Carolingian minuscule adds, as the last element in the letter, the small stroke to the right of the top of the 3, Italian begins with the complete top-stroke, starting from its right-hand end (Pl. I 46); and this Italian type is also the prevalent type in Burgundy (e. g. Autun 20^A, written at Autun; Montpellier 84, written at Couches). The upper stroke may be sinuous as well as straight. Not merely the completely closed upper part of the letter but also the shortness of the lower part distinguish it from the Carolingian type (with longer sweep of the lower bow of the 3).

44. In the Corbie ab-script too, a script of Charlemagne's time, the lower part is kept equal in size to the upper or sometimes less. The upper is a neat oval, completely or almost completely closed, and the upper stroke is treated either in Italian (and Burgundian) or else in Carolingian fashion (see 'Introd.' facs. 128). This large oval head appears also in MSS. like Petrograd O. I 4 Cassian's Collationes (Corbie entype), Paris 17371, foll. 1-153 Jerome on Jeremiah (written at St Denis, 793-806), etc.

45. Another way of writing the half-uncial form without lifting the pen was to begin at the left side of the top horizontal stroke and not continue the stroke past the point at which the pen had to start on its downward course. This produced a form which might be compared to a flat-headed (numeral) 3, but which may more conveniently be termed the *z*-variety (resembling Greek minuscule Zeta) since it undoubtedly was sometimes liable to be confused with the letter *z* by transcribers. It is known to the half-uncial scribes of all countries, and was the form favoured in the half-uncial passages of Tours MSS. from Alcuin's time (see 'Introd.' facs. 132), from which it found its way often into Tours minuscule. At Tours (and elsewhere too) the top horizontal stroke is fairly long and the whole letter is fairly broad; in strong contrast to a form affected by some Insular scribes, a very narrow type of letter which begins well above the line and descends well below: e. g. in the marginalia (apparently written by Boniface) in the Codex Fuldensis; in the marginalia of the

Douce Primasius (see 'Ir. Min.' pl. iv.); in part of Petrograd Q. I 15 Theologica Varia 'beg. 8 cent.'), etc.

46. In ligatures (especially *gn*, *gr*) the half-uncial form became like our S. Indeed the ligature *gi* exactly reproduces our printed S, the *i* forming the tag at the top-end of our letter. This ligatured form is sometimes used independently by scribes: e. g. in the Ussher Gospels (see 'Introd.' facs. 134, line 6); in Milan D 23 sup. Orosius ('Insular' half-uncial of Bobbio); and in some minuscule specimens of Insular script. Confusion with *s* in transcription is conceivable. Both the half-uncial MSS. close the under curve of the letter into a loop (similarly the half-uncial Durham A II 16 and B II 30 in *gn*, *go*). But minuscule Insular *g* which terminates in a loop below is not found before the ninth century (occasionally in the Book of Armagh of 808) and may generally be taken as evidence of a date later than our period (e. g. the Bamberg Scriptores Historiae Augustae).

47. Lastly must be mentioned a curious 'disjointed' Merovingian variety (Pl. I 47), in which a curved stroke starts from the foot of the completed letter and is continued to the line or above. I have found it in Berne 611 + Paris 10756, St Gall 214 + St Paul (Carinthia) frag., London Add. 24143; also (in a modified form) in London Harl. 5041, foll. 79 sqq., a MS. already cited for its 'corkscrew shafted' *t*, *b* (§ 12).

H.

48. The minuscule of Burgundy can be recognized by the characteristic form of *h*. The shaft (sometimes slightly curved) slopes downward from left to right and is (like the shafts of other letters in Burgundian minuscule) not 'clubbed' (i. e. thickest at the top) but 'pillared' (i. e. thick throughout). But *h* with a sloping shaft (straight or slightly curved) is not by any means unknown in other types of script. It appears in the Veronese cursive of Verona 163 Claudian and Verona 33 Augustine de Agone Christiano; in Cologne MSS. frequently; in the Swiss minuscule of St Gall and Chur and in Einsiedeln 157; in the Corbie ab-type, and so on. ('Introd.' facs. 129, line 5 shews an example from an '8 cent.' MS. of Murbach).

The Insular 'autem' symbol was treated by scribes as *h*

with a 'tail' appended, and is subject to the same modification of form as the letter itself.

49. Correctors often add *h* (when omitted by a scribe) in a conventional form, a small suprascript (Greek) rough breathing (see 'Introd.' p. 64). This is usually termed the 'dasia' (the Greek for 'rough breathing.' In most MSS. of our period it has clearly been added by a corrector after our period. But not in all. In a MS. written at Soissons c. 700, Brussels 9850-2, the correction (which occasionally takes the form of a small *h*) seems contemporary. And in a Freising MS., Munich 6228 ("8 cent.)", where it is very frequent, it seems to come from the scribe himself; also in Lucca 490 (of c. 800), e. g. fol. 7^{r} menest*h*ei, fol. 20^{v} cleant*h*es, etc.

The 'paragraphus' (the sign of a new paragraph) in an early Tours MS., Paris nouv. acq. 1575 Eugippius (also in Paris 13386, etc.), takes a shape indistinguishable from the 'dasia', and would cause trouble now and then to transcribers. And the same mark sometimes plays other parts; e. g. in a MS. later than our period (Vat. lat. 1570 Virgil with Commentary) 'syntax-mark', used to indicate the construction of the sentence, sometimes have this form. Thus the dasia-mark stands above the Preposition and its Noun in the line (fol. 34^{r}): frigidus obstiterit *circum praecordia* sanguis. A transcript might conceivably shew *circhum praechordia*.

I.

50. I. '*I longa*'. To give the letter *i* some individuality the Romans often lengthened it. This 'i longa' plays many parts in the MSS. of our period, but never indicates the long quantity of the vowel, as in Roman inscriptions of the early Empire. It also takes many forms: (i) it may stand on the line and be elongated to the height of letters like *b*, *d*, *l*; (ii) it may be projected below the line (whence our j) to the depth of letters like *p*, *q*, while its upper part stands on a level with the shaftless letters; (iii) it may be elongated at once above and below (e. g. very often in the Corbie ab-type: see 'Introd.' facs. 128, last line, for a poor example).

51. It is only in cursive (especially the earlier cursive) that we find elongation of any *i* whatsoever, without distinction. This promiscuous use may be illustrated from the 'ancient mi-

nuscule ' of the scholia of the Bembine Terence (with e. g. nImIum). Practically all scribes who use ' i longa ' follow (perhaps often unconsciously) certain limitations and in many types of script there are definite rules enforced on writers.

52. The rules for Beneventan and Visigothic minuscule have been investigated (by Loew ' Stud. Pal. '). In both these scripts ' i longa ' is used (1) for initial ([1]) *i*, 2) for *j* (i. e. consonantal *i*); so that a South Italian or Spanish scribe writes In, Igitur, Iam, maIor, aIo, etc., the only difference being that a South Italian calligrapher avoids ' i longa ' before a shafted letter (e. g. in ' ibo ', ' ipse ', and especially in ' ille ') more than a Spanish calligrapher. This Beneventan and Visigothic ' i longa ' is often hardly distinguishable from *l* and has been mistaken for it not merely by Caroline minuscule transcribers (who never use ' i longa ') but by modern editors. Thus *aio* becomes *alo*, *maius* becomes *malus*. On the other hand it preserves the intelligent transcriber or editor from the danger of confusing *ius* with *vis*, etc. ([2]).

53. For other scripts than Beneventan and Visigothic the usage has still to be investigated (see below.). The few statistics which have been collected and published seem to require revision, for some collectors, after they have found In, Inde, Ius, Iustus, Iungo in the opening pages of a MS., will hasten to pronounce that ' every initial *i* is so written '; whereas all that these five examples prove is that initial *i* before *n* and before *u* is elongated by this scribe. The possible uses of ' i longa ' are for: —

(1) any initial *i*. The long form would be a handy indication of the beginning of a word.

(2) initial *i* before *n*. The long form would prevent *in* from being mistaken for *m*. In the rude half-uncial of the Cathach, a Psalter written probably by St Columba, the Irish saint writes ' i longa ' (or rather ' longior ', for it is only slightly higher than shaftless letters) in the word (or opening syllable)

([1]) In a phrase like *ad insulam* there is not necessarily initial *i*. The scribe may visualize it as one word *adinsulam* (like *adfero*).

([2]) Loew l. c., p. 13, cites Tac. Hist. 4, 48, 10 (legatorum vis adolevit), where editors waver between *vis* and *ius*. Since our unique MS. of the Histories is in Beneventan script, its reading is undoubtedly *vis*. For *ius* would inevitably be written with ' i longa ' by a South Italian scribe.

in whenever he uses the minuscule form of *n* (In, but IN). It is true that one might expect to find 'i longa' before *n* in the middle of a word also, in order to keep, e. g., *vino res* from being mistaken for *umores*; but there seems to be no instance in the book-hand of our period (except deInde, proInde, etc., which may be otherwise explained).

(3) initial *i* before *u*. The long form would prevent *iu* from being mistaken for *ui* (e. g. *ius* for *vis*). Here too the extension to *iu* in the middle of a word is conceivable; and certainly eIus, conIunctus, etc. are not unknown in the book-hand of our period. The collector of statistics must seek evidence whether these do not rather (as in Beneventan and Visigothic minuscule) belong to the following class.

(4) j (consonantal *i*), both initial (e. g. Iam, Iovis, Iungo) and medial (e. g. maIa, maIestas, maIor, maIus). For it is not conceivable that a scribe who used 'i longa' (as we use *j*) to indicate the consonantal sound of Latin *i* should content himself with indicating this sound at the beginning of a word only.

54. A more purposeless use of 'i longa' is rather a feature of cursive and, when it appears in books, indicates an early script which has not yet discarded cursive features:

(5) after letters like *r*, *t* and (the 'half-uncial' type of) *g*, all of them ending in a thrust to the right. We find rI, tI, gI (some or all) in the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of such MSS. as the Bologna Lactantius and Lyons 253[418] Augustine's Civitas Dei; in the half-uncial of such MSS. as the Cassel Hegesippus; in the Corbie en-type (not *gi*, for the 'half-uncial' type of *g* is not used), etc. (For an example from the early minuscule of Tours, see 'Introd.' facs. 130, line 3 '*altaris*').

It seems reasonable to connect with this fashion that cursive Insular fashion of writing *ri*, *ti*, etc., of which I have given details in Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 304. The subscription of the Stowe St John's Gospel fragment offers in five lines no less than eight examples of *ri* written with a long vertical sinuous stroke following the *r*. A common Insular form of the *ti* ligature (see below, s. v. 'T') seems to superimpose this cursive 'i longa' on the body of the *t*. And the less common Insular *ri* ligature (or rather 'connexion') does the same (see Pl. I

8 'scriptam', 9 'scriptum'). And just as in the 'ancient minuscule' of, let us say, the marginalia of Vat. Reg. 886 (e. g. fol. 73^{v} armatus in) 'i longa' often transects the wide upper curve of a preceding *s*, etc., so the Insular scribe often writes *fi* (especially in the word 'finit' in Explicits) with this cursive Insular 'i longa' straggling down through the wide upper curve of the *f* (see above, s. v. 'F').

55. In the Cassel Hegesippus 'i longa' after *t* is often projected below the line (usually curved like our j wanting the dot). This was the fashion which gained most universal acceptance (see 'Introd.' facs. 153, line 6). We find it all through our period in all types of Continental script and in some utilized to distinguish the assibilated pronunciation (e. g. in *natio*) from the unassibilated (e. g. in *natis*). See below, s. v. 'T').

56. The analogous expression of *ri* (on that of *gi* see below) usually appends to the elevated branch of the *r* a long sinuous vertical curve like Insular cursive 'i longa' (e. g. in the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of Lyons 523bis and of the Codex Claromontanus). This *ri* ligature (see 'Introd.' facs. 120, line 3) is a feature of all Continental script throughout our period, but not of Insular. Its rare appearance in Insular script proves the MS. to have been written in a Continental scriptorium (e. g. Munich 6298, written at Freising). An Insular scribe writes, as a rule, an ordinary *r* followed by an ordinary *i*. A short variety of the *ri* ligature might be mistaken for *n*.

57. II *Subscript i*. In uncial script *ui* is often expressed by prolonging the second upright of *u* downwards in a straight line, so that *ui* resembles a very 'open' *q* (see below, s. v. 'U'). Similarly *ni*, etc. occasionally in the 'ancient minuscule' of such MSS. as the Basilican Hilary. In minuscule script *i* prefers a comma-form similarly appended (1). It is a constant feature of Insular script, and a frequent feature of the Continental of scriptoriums under Insular influence, e. g. Freising,

(1) Literally 'subscript' *i* (i. e. set directly under the centre of the letter) appears in a Vatican MS. written at Trèves in 810, Vat. Pal. 1448, and in another, Vat. Pal. 212, of uncertain provenance (also Trèves?). These two MSS. sometimes express *ni, mi* by *n* and *m* with a comma written (at a very slight interval) under their centres.

Murbach; but also of others from which Insular influence seems remote (e. g. *mi*, *ni*, *hi* in the North Italian minuscule of Vercelli 202 Isidore's Etymologies; *mi*, *ni* in the Lons-le-Saulnier Bede, written at St Claude, Jura, 804-815, a MS. which shews no Insular abbreviation; in Beneventan minuscule, etc.). It is commonest in *mi*, *ni*; next in *hi*; while (minuscule) *ui* is perhaps confined to Insular script (also appearing in the Continental of a Murbach MS., Colmar 39, e. g. fol. 103^{v} 'quia'). Peculiar too to Insular script are the rarer *bi* (e. g. the Book of Mulling and the Book of Armagh, for Irish; Berne 671, for Cornish; Petrograd Q. XIV 1, for Anglosaxon), *di* (e. g. the half-uncial St Chad Gospels, for Welsh?; Milan C 301 int., for Irish; St Gall 761, for Anglosaxon), *xi* (e. g. the half-uncial St Gall 51 and the Leyden Priscian, for Irish; while the Anglosaxon half-uncial of the Maeseyck Gospels exhibits rather 'dropped' than 'subscript' *i*, and the Anglosaxon minuscule of Paris 9527 appends a long curve to the upper right end of the *x*). The *bi* ligature might be mistaken for *li*. The *di* (e. g. in St Gall 761) is indistinguishable from the *ti* ligature.

58. Insular too is the comma appended to the right end of the curve of *t* in *ti* (also in the Continental script of Munich 210, from Salzburg). This comma, when in small size, is hardly distinguishable from the flourish in which the curve of Insular *t* sometimes ends (e. g. in the Freising Anglosaxon script of Munich 6297); and perhaps that is why *ti* in Insular script usually prefers 'dropped' to 'subscript' *i*. (Continental script, we have seen, as sometimes Insular, appends the *i* to the right end of the branch, not of the curve, of *t*, a practice from which arose a common Continental and Insular form of the *ti* ligature; § 115).

59. The Insular method of writing *si* (see above, s. v. 'F') may perhaps be classed with 'subscript' *i*. So too may that curious expression of *peri* (e. g. in the Irish minuscule of the Book of Mulling, the Book of Armagh, etc., and the Nothumbrian of Vat. Pal. 68), with a curve appended to the 'tail' of the Insular abbreviation-symbol for 'per' (*p* with a 'tail'). A transcriber might be pardoned for mistaking it for a common Insular abbreviation of *pus* (cf. 'Introd.' facs. 127, line 1 'bus').

60. Like Insular *ti*, so Insular *li* wavers between 'subscript' *i* (e. g. in the Naples Charisius and the Book of Dimma, for Irish; in the Moore Bede and the glosses of Petrograd F. I 3, part *i*, for Anglosaxon) and 'dropped' *i*. A curious cursive *ai* (with the suprascript form of *a*) in Epinal 68 (of 744) resembles *z* (e. g. m*ai*oribus). The appendage of *i* to suprascript *u* which so often expresses *ui* (in 'qui', etc.) in the minuscule of Bobbio, St Gall, etc., is mentioned elsewhere (s. v. 'U').

61. III. *Dropped i.* It has been already remarked (s. v. 'C') that *ci*, when written, as so often in all kinds of script, with 'dropped' *i* (i. e. with the letter beginning much nearer the line than usual) was dangerously like the 'uncial' type (sickle form) of *g* when the handle of the 'sickle' was not sufficiently long. The Insular (but not exclusively Insular) ligature *fi* (with the *i* appended to the right end of the branch of f) also exhibits what may be called 'dropped' *i*, while the Continental fi-ligature is identical with the Insular si-ligature (see above, s. v. 'F'). 'Dropped' *i* is common after *l* from the earliest times (e. g. in the uncial of the Bologna Lactantius, etc.; in the half-uncial of the Basilican Hilary, etc.; in the 'ancient minuscule' of the marginalia of MSS. like the Basilican Hilary and often in the word 'contuli' in their subscriptions) and in most types of script. (For an Anglosaxon example, not a very good one, see 'Introd.' facs. 142 line 3). It is sometimes mistakable for *b*, *alii* resembling *abi*, etc.

62. 'Dropped' and 'subscript' *i* are, as we have seen, not always to be distinguished. They may often conveniently be included under the wider term 'enclitic' *i*, where the letter is treated by the scribe as a mere appendage to the preceding letter. The S-form assumed by the Insular ligature *gi* has been already mentioned (s. v. 'G'). Merovingian *gi* appends *i* in a much longer curve to the head of the letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 124, line 2; 125, line 1). The same long appendage (attached in similar fashion to the open 3-form of *g*) appears in MSS. like Epinal 29 (of 744); and Beneventan *gi* preserves this early practice. In *ei* (see above, s. v. 'E') the same (usually) long curve (or straight line) is appended to the right of the 'tongue' of the *e* in Insular as well as most Continental scripts; although, what we might expect in Insular,

'subscript' *i* (as in *ti*) appears in the half-uncial of Durham A II 16.

63. When the 'cursive' Insular *e* (the 'figure eight' form) is employed, the *i* merely continues the curve of the 'tongue' and might be ignored by a transcriber sometimes. Similarly when the 'cursive' Continental *e* (the reverse of the Insular) is employed; the ligature being then dangerously like the Continental ligature *et*. This 'Continental' *ei* appears also in Insular minuscule, e. g. in the Book of Mulling (see above, s. v. 'E'). Curiously enough, a Freising scribe of Munich 6262 (854-875 A. D.) writes *ti* (in 'viginti', 'ubertatis', etc.) precisely in this fashion (see below, § 119).

64. These ligatures *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, *ti* became obligatory in Beneventan script (especially at the developed stage which came after our period); and, as we shall see (s. v. 'T'), one particular form of the *ti* ligature (resembling a reversed Greek minuscule Beta) became obligatory for the assibilated sound of *ti*. These rules merely reduced to system the practice already prevailing in Italian minuscule, for in North (and Central?) Italy we find a script hardly (if at all) distinguishable from the earlier stages of Beneventan. We find there also a script hardly distinguishable from Caroline minuscule, which attained great beauty at Verona when Pacifico (d. 846) was head of the scriptorium. The presence of 'i longa' seems a good criterion for distinguishing this 'Caroline' type of Italian minuscule from the Caroline minuscule of France, although the minuscule of the North Italian scriptoriums (Verona, Vercelli, Novara, Nonantola, etc.) has really not yet been investigated.

65. We have seen that a mistake like *malus* for *maius*, *alo* for *aio* suggests an exemplar in Beneventan (or rather any Italian) or Visigothic minuscule. 'Suggests', not 'proves'. For, in the first place, the letters *i* and *l* (also *t*) of Rustic Capital (and some Uncial) are easily confused at any part of a word. And, in the second, the more that any species of minuscule retains of its cursive origin, the more readily it admits 'i longa'. Three 'Merovingian' types of book-hand, namely the Luxeuil type, the Laon az-type, and the Corbic ab-type, all abound with 'i longa'; although it is perhaps only in the Luxeuil type that *maius*, etc. could be misread

as *malus*, etc., and even there not very often. The use of 'i longa' for *j* is a feature too (but seldom a constant feature) of the oldest minuscule of many writing-centres, such as Tours (e. g. London Egerton 2831), Corbie (e. g. Paris 4403[A] and 12239), Murbach (e. g. Epinal 68, of the year 744), Cologne (e. g. Cologne 210 and 98). By the time of Charlemagne these centres dispense with 'i longa' altogether (the calligraphic Tours minuscule of Alcuin's or Fredegisus' time, the Corbie minuscule of Maurdramnus' time, the Cologne minuscule of Hildebald's time).

66. A mistake like *lacto* for *iacto* is much weaker evidence. For the use of 'i longa' for initial *i* (or *j*) was more widely prevalent than its use for *j* (medial as well as initial). Most prevalent of all was its use for the initial of *in*; and any scribe who recognizes 'i longa' at all is sure to write In, Inpono, etc. (probably also exInde, etc. and Impono, etc.). Practically every specimen of Insular minuscule offers In (often closely resembling *hi*), and most add other examples of initial 'i longa' such as Iungo, Ita. At some Continental centres of Insular script we see (in their Continental script especially) a conflict between the Insular use and what we may call the 'Continental' disuse of 'i longa'. For example, in a Fulda MS. written before 847 by two scribes, Vat Reg. 124, the one avoids 'i longa' altogether, the other writes it always as the initial of 'in' and sometimes of other words such as 'ita'. In the Lorsch MSS. at the Vatican Library which shew the work of two or more scribes we often find the same conflict.

67. Another use to which 'i longa' was occasionally put has still to be mentioned, for the second of two neighbouring i's; e. g. in Cologne 210 exilt, filiI. Sometimes in the j-form, e. g. Verona 59 filij (without the dot). These would escape the danger of confusion with *u*. The second unit of iii (xiii, etc.) or the second and fourth of iiii (xiiii, etc.) are often similarly treated. (On the Spanish ligature *it*, see below, s. v. 'T').

L.

68. The 'foot' of this letter usually substituted in minuscule a curve for the angle of the majuscule form, and often (e. g. in the earlier specimens of Anglosaxon) this curve is

continued right under the following letter (or letters). 'Introd.' facs 114 shews in line 6 an example from an early MS. of Bobbio of this practice where the 'foot' is not curved; and in line 9 ('facile') an occasional early type (with arched 'instep') which might be mistaken for *h*, a type perhaps commoner in uncial than in minuscule. When the curve of minuscule *l* is reduced to a minimum, the letter is easily confused with the long form of *i* (see above, s. v.). When an ornamental tag is added to the (straight or curved) foot, *l* might be mistaken for the ligature *li* (with that 'dropped' *i* seen in line 3 of the facsimile just mentioned).

69. A kind of 'dropped' *l* appears in earlier MSS., such as Epinal 68 (of the year 744), London Add. 11878 (of the Luxeuil type), Paris nouv. acq. 1507, in ligatures like *el*, *fl*, the head of the *l* being attached to the 'tongue' of the *e*, the 'branch' of the *f*, and its 'foot' prolonged in a sinuous sweep under the line. On certain modifications of the shaft of *l* (and the other shafted letters), e. g. the 'corkscrew shafted' *l* of some Merovingian MSS., see above, s. v. 'B'.

M, N.

70. While the majuscule form of *m* is rare in the minuscule of our period (e. g. the capital form sometimes in Epinal 68 of the year 744; the uncial form, i. e. with rounded and not angular 'shoulders' in the Corbie ab-type of Petrograd F. I 11), the majuscule form of *n* (angular both in uncial and in capital script) is common all through our period. Its special frequency in the Corbie en-script makes it a prominent feature of this type; it is much affected in the calligraphy of Tours, etc.; and, in fact, it may be said to be one of the marks which a palaeographer uses in dating Caroline minuscule. But until statistics are collected, this test of date must be used with caution. For example, it is of common occurrence in so late a MS. as the Corbie Gregorian Sacramentary of 972-986 (Paris 12052). And we must allow for caprice of individual scribes. The Ratisbon scribes of Munich 14468 (written at Ratisbon in 821) do not use it; those of Munich 14437 (written in 823) do. In the Cologne MSS. of Hildebald's time I have not noticed it, although it is common in the earlier Cologne 98, Cologne 210, etc.

71. This uncial and capital *n* (like our N) is used exclusively in Continental half-uncial script, which thus escapes the danger of having *n* and *r* confused by transcribers (see below, s. v. 'R'). The form resembling our n should therefore be called the 'minuscule' rather than the 'half-uncial' form although the analogous form of *m* is rightly called 'half-uncial' (being, in fact, the uncial form reduced in size and with the first curve turned into an upright). Insular half-uncial scribes admit both the minuscule form of *n* and the other, and some (e. g. in the Lichfield Gospels) affect variety where *n* is repeated, e. g. a*n*no, *n*on.

72. The rough-and-ready rule for dating the minuscule of our period, that *m* and *n* do not end in a slight upward turn to the right (a great departure from the uncial form of *m*) does not hold for all scripts, e. g. Merovingian book-hand of various types and Beneventan (from the earliest stage). Merovingian examples of this 'late' form will be seen in 'Introd.' facs. 124, 125, 126, 128; Beneventan in facs. 120 (which should however be dated '874-893' and not '812'). Insular calligraphers (and some others) often so exaggerate this 'uncial' feature of minuscule *m* (and *n*) that the final stroke is brought in a sweep under the line till it reaches a point immediately below the middle shaft of the *m* (or even further to the left). They do this especially, but not only, at the end of the line. And Insular half-uncial script, especially at the end of a paragraph or a page, sometimes indulges in a freak-form, with this final curve fantastically elongated (see 'Introd.' facs. 135, end).

73. There is an early, a very early form of *n* (of the majuscule shape) which closely resembles (capital) *m*, and is due to writing *n* without lifting the pen. The middle stroke instead of going down to the foot of the second upright, makes a slight dip and joins the second upright at the top (Pl. I 48). It appears sometimes (nearly in this form) in that part of the Book of Mulling to which the St Moling (d. 696) subscription is appended, and strongly confirms the tradition about this early specimen of Irish minuscule. It appears also in the early cursive of Verona 3 and fol. 403^{v} of Verona 1: in the 'quarter-uncial' of Rome Sessor. 55 Augustine; in the corrector's entry on fol. 110 of the Basilican Hilary (correc-

ted in 509-510); in the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of Vat. Reg. 886 and the Bologna Lactantius, and so on.

74. Quite a contrary formation of *n* (of 'majuscule' shape) is employed in the Corbie Leutchar-type of Berlin th. F. 354 (by the first scribe, whose *n* resembles his *u*), in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of London Royal '1 E vi' etc. The middle stroke is horizontal (usually on the line) and begins from the foot of the first upright (from its centre, when the first upright is projected below the line). Some Anglosaxon half-uncial scribes make this type of *n* broader than the normal form. The normal (majuscule) form is however occasionally fantastically extended in breadth (often with a reduction in the height of the letter), especially when a scribe found that he had left himself too much space for his task and wished to extend his writing so as to fill the whole of the last page of a quire (e. g. *nomen* in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of London Royal 1 E vii).

75. More often a scribe desired to save space (and secure correct syllable-division) at the end of a line. In such a case Insular scribes (especially in half-uncial MSS.) write *n* at the end of a line sideways (like our numeral 3). The write *m* similarly, but with an additional curve (see 'Introd.' facs. 135, line 1, end); while *um* is expressed by capping this long spiral with a suprascript *u*, *am* with a suprascript *a* (e. g. Durham A II 17; although suprascript *a* is a great rarity in Insular script). Sometimes scribes write *n* above the line, in majuscule or minuscule form, or even in that tachygraphic form which exactly resembles our z; and in the Anglosaxon half-uncial of the Lindisfarne Gospels we find occasionally 'stilted' *n*, with the body of the letter (in majuscule form) above and the first upright (like a stilt) prolonged down to the line.

76. Details of these contrivances for reducing the space occupied by *m* and *n* will be found in 'Not. Lat.' pp. 342 sqq., as well as of another contrivance which is usually (but unscientifically) called an 'abbreviation-symbol' for *m* and *n*, a suprascript stroke which in 'ancient minuscule' (e. g. the scholia of the Medicean Virgil), in majuscule from the earliest times, in the calligraphic minuscule of Verona (and other centres) is often not suprascript but treated like an ordinary

letter (1). In the minuscule of our period it is, we may say, only Spanish scribes who 'abbreviate' *n*, so that intelligent transcribers would never be in danger of misinterpreting the symbol unless they had a Visigothic exemplar. And even Spanish scribes often distinguish, adding a dot (or a shorter stroke) above (or under) the abbreviation-stroke when *m* and not *n* was symbolized.

77. It seems hardly worth while to give details of the forms assumed by the 'abbreviation-symbol' of *m* in the minuscule of different countries and writing-centres, since many scribes do not confine themselves to one form and most scribes make no distinction between the symbol of *m* and the general abbreviation-stroke. Insular (especially Irish) scribes are an exception. The normally reserve a stroke curved backward (or hooked) at each (or one) end for *m* (see below, s. v. 'U'); so that we can always be sure what an Irish scribe means by (let us say) *a* with a stroke above. With the 'm'-stroke it will mean *am*. With the ordinary abbreviation-stroke it will mean *aut*. The peculiarly South Italian m-stroke, like a small numeral 3 (see 'Introd.' facs. 120, from a Monte Cassino MS. of 874-893, not "812") hardly came into use till after our period. The other shapes, so far as they call for mention, may best be mentioned in an account of the general abbreviation-stroke itself. (On the ligatures *no*, *on*, *ns*, *nt* see s. vv. 'O', 'S', 'T').

78. A curious variety of *n* (the majuscule shape) found in the Merovingian minuscule of London Harl. 5041 (as in the Bobbio uncial of Milan B 159 sup.) perhaps deserves notice (Pl. I 49). It might suggest *at* to transcribers (cf. § 114). *Tamen* might be mistaken for *tameat* and altered to *timeat* or *tumeat*.

O.

79. Just as the letter *i* was made more observable by being elongated ('i longa'), so in Merovingian cursive the letter *o* takes the form of Greek minuscule Delta, a form often

(1) I. e. put after the preceding vowel. It is, I think, wrong to speak of this as a device to eke out the length of the line and not leave a blank space at the end. For the scribe often puts the m-stroke in the margin, outside the line.

assumed by the letter *d* in Insular minuscule (see above, s. v.). In the book-hands of Merovingian type, e. g. the Luxeuil script, the Laon az-script, the "N. E. France" script, the Corbie ab-script, we find this 'Delta'-form of *o* much in evidence. For an example from the last named script, see 'Introd.' facs. 128, line 1. And it occasionally shews itself in other script of the 8th. century, e. g. in Epinal 68 (of the year 744). In the Merovingian book-hand of Berne 611 it is sometimes indistinguishable in ligatures from Insular cursive *e* (§ 27); *or* resembles *er*, etc.

80. 'Subscript' *o* is, like 'subscript' *i*, a feature of Insular script, although (unlike *i*) it is never found in Continental. Oftenest after *m* (Pl. I 50), *n*, *h*, and the ligature *ti* (see below, s. v. 'T'), but also after *u*, *l*, *d* (e. g. in the Lindisfarne Gospels). *i* (e. g. in Durham A II 17). In the Welsh Liber Commonei it is attached to the 'tongue' of cursive Insular *e* to form *eo*. 'Suprascript' *o* is, in our period, almost as rare in Insular script as 'suprascript' *a*. It appears in two specimens of Anglosaxon script which may come from the same scriptorium (Echternach?), viz. the Maihingen Gospels (middle of 8.th cent.) and Paris 9382. They offer *os* (Pl. I 51), *or*, *om*. *on*, usually so written. In Irish it shews itself at the very close of our period in the St Gall Priscian (written in Ireland, probably in 845), where one of the scribes, Finguine, writes *om*, etc., as in Pl. I 52. It is, like 'subscript' *o*, unknown to Continental book-hand.

81. The nearest approach to 'subscript' *o* in Continental script is the combination *ro* (see 'Introd.' facs. 114, line 4; 119, line 10), in which however the *o* does not normally come below the line. This combination (the branch of *r* usually high and angular) is a prominent feature of most Continental minuscule (not Visigothic nor Beneventan) of the 8.th century; and indeed till the end of our period, e. g. by one scribe of Paris 11533 Bible (Corbie, of 850), in Oxford Laud. misc. 120 (written at Würzburg, 842-855), in Liége 306 (written at St Trond in 834). One scribe of a Murbach MS., Oxford Jun. 25, foll. 1-59 ("8 cent.") writes it quite like *ro*. It appars in the Anglosaxon minuscule of Tours in London Egerton 2831.

Of other combinations in which *o* is attached to a preceding consonant the commonest are *co* ('Introd' facs. 114,

line 7), *to* (facs. 126, line 7, line 8), *fo, eo, go, no.* Even Insular scribes occasionally write *mo* (and *no*) as in Pl. I 53, instead of with 'subscript' *o*.

These combinations are 8.th century usages and indicate that Continental book-hand has not yet fully discarded the practice of cursive. The *o* often terminates in an upward stroke which suggests the Merovingian 'Delta'-form.

82. The combination *os*, in 'ligature'-form (Pl. I 54) or as a mere 'union' (Pl. I 55), is a device of uncial and half-uncial scribes for saving space at the end of a line, and is similarly employed by some minuscule scribes, e. g. in Munich 4547, a MS. written for Princess Kisyla, Charlemagne's sister. Of the combinations in which *o* precedes a consonant the most universal is *or* (see below, s. v. 'R'), in which the *r* is usually sacrificed to the *o*, as much as *n* in a common uncial form of *on* (Pl. I 56). On the rare ligature *oe* see § 6.

P.

83. The round of *p* in minuscule script (as in half-uncial and the later stages of uncial) stands on the line; and when the lower part of the round does not reach as far as the shaft, we have the 'open' form of the letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 119, 124, 129, etc.). Statistics of the use of 'open' *p* have not yet been collected (except that in Beneventan script only close *p* is reported), but it appears that a very open form of *p* is a mark of antiquity, as in 'Introd' facs. 142 (from the Anglo-saxon minuscule of the Moore Bede, written c. 773, with *p* often dangerously like Insular *r*).

84. A form like Greek minuscule Rho characterizes North Italian cursive (see 'Introd.' facs. 114, from the Milan Maximus). In Visigothic cursive too it is known, but often takes the form of an *o* perched on the top of the shaft of the letter (see 'Introd.' facs. 115, line 8).

85. Cursive scribes threw open the left side of the round of *p* by attaching the upper curve to a preceding letter and beginning the under-shaft of *p* at the foot of the round. (On a similar formation of *d* and *q* see §§ 20, 87-89). In the Continental minuscule of our period (in Beneventan till long after our period) three of these ligatures are current everywhere except in Spain, viz. *sp* (see 'Introd' facs. 114, line 5), *rp*,

xp (facs. 114, line 3). The second is confusible with *sp* when the branch of the *r* is not (as usual) angular. And *sp*, when narrower than usual, is confusible with that ligature by which a Continental scribe expressed *ſi* and an Insular, *si* (see above, s. v. 'I'). The leaf-shaped *ep* (see 'Introd.' facs. 114, line 6) has already been discussed (s. v. 'E'). Like *ap* (with 'suprascript' *a*), *op*, *tp*, it belongs to the earlier half of our period; although *rop* (facs. 128, line 3) appears even in a MS. written for Charlemagne's sister, Princess Kisyla (Munich 4577, in 'propter' fol. 91[r]). The *ep* ligature has other shapes too (see, e. g., 'Introd.' facs. 115, line 9).

86. The only approach to this cursive Continental *ꝑ* in Insular script is a form which might usually (or often) rather be described as 'open at the top' (Pl. I 57). It is a feature of Insular half-uncial and of some (early) specimens of Insular minuscule; although it turns up occasionally in Continental script (e. g. fol. 169[v] of Verona 37), especially for initial P. (On an analogous formation of Insular *q* see below, s. v.).

Q.

87. The minuscule form (like our q) is also the uncial and the half-uncial. A half-uncial variety (seen in 'Introd.' facs. 98) with the lower part of the round of *q* (as of *ꝑ*) not continued to the shaft does not seem to occur in the minuscule of our period. By 'open' *q* is meant rather a *q* in which the upper part of the round is not closed. Of 'open' *q* much the same may be said as of 'open' *ꝑ* (see above, s. v.). Statistics have not yet been collected, except that in Beneventan script only close *q* is reported. A very 'open' variety, in which the curve breaks away at once from the shaft (Pl. I 57) is a feature of such early specimens of Insular minuscule as St John's Gospel in the Book of Mulling (written by the Irish saint Moling, who died in 696); the marginalia in the Codex Fuldensis (witten probahly by St. Boniface, who died in 755); the similar marginalia (also by Boniface?) in the Cassel Hegesippus; the marginalia in the Douce Primasius; Petrograd Q. I 15 (Anglosaxon of Corbie?).

88. In most of the Insular minuscule and half-uncial of our period *q* is often more or less 'open', a common type having the left side of the round turned back at the top

(Pl. I 59); and this left side is sometimes (Pl. I 60) angular instead of curved. (On a similar formation of *d* and *p* see §§ 25, 85). Equally 'open' is a variety which in Continental minuscule is confined to the earlier stages. It resembles the letter *u* with the second upright prolonged below the line, and its dangerous resemblance to the ligature *ui* (with 'subscript' *i*) has already been mentioned (s. v. 'I'). This variety is a feature of the writing of Winithar, the famous scribe of St Gall in the middle of the 8.th century; it appears (along with the closed form) in the Tours Eugippius ("beg. 8 cent."), etc., and in Merovingian book-hand often has the shaft not perpendicular but slanting down (sinuously) to the right. But 'close' *q* is no evidence of a later date. For example, in the Luxeuil type of Merovingian script (see 'Introd.' facs. 124) *q* is 'open' only when connected with a preceding letter.

89. This connexion of 'open' *q* with a preceding *o* (see 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 5) or *e* (facs. 128, line 3) or *s*, etc., is an early feature of all Continental and Insular minuscule: e. g. *eq* in the Milan Hegesippus, of c. 700; *rq* in Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 81 (of 772); *sq* in the Book of Mulling, Vienna 16, Vienna 954 (all of "c. 700"). It catches the eye in the "N. E. France" minuscule (of Autun 20 and Montpellier Ville 3, etc.) more perhaps than in any other script; for in such ligatures as *aq* little remains of the round of the *q* except the lowest part.

R.

90. We may, with convenience if not with strict accuracy, distinguish 5 *r*'s in the minuscule of our period. Three of them stand on the line (being of the height of the other shaftless letters): (1) the 'uncial' variety (Pl. I 60), (2) the 'half-uncial' (Pl. I 62), (3) the 'minuscule' (Pl. I 63). Two of them, in cursive fashion, beginning at the same height above the line, fall below as far as letters like *p* and *q*: the 'cursive' with (4) rounded (Pl. I 64) or (5) angular shoulder (Pl. I 65). The first three represent three successive steps of departure from the original type (R) standing on the line; the last two similarly of departure from the same type placed partly above and partly below the line. All five (but especially no. 5) may be sloping (upwards from left to right) instead of perpendicular.

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91. Of these five minuscule varieties we may roughly say that nos. 1, 2, 4 are Insular, nos. 3, 5 Continental. And in most Continental minuscule we find no. 5 reserved for its proper 'cursive' function, to express *r* when witten in ligature (or at least in connexion) with a following letter. One ligature however is written with *r* standing on the line, the ligature *ri*. For example, 'Introd.' facs. 119 exhibits the 'minuscule' variety everywhere, except that in *re* (lines 6, 10) and *ro* (line 10) the 'cursive' angular variety appears, and in *ri* (lines 3, 7, 9) the same angular form stands on the line (the i-appendage curving far below the line; cf. § 56). This prevailing usage in the (earlier) script of our period (cf. facs. 114, 127, etc.) became stereotyped in the rules of Beneventan script, viz. that final (1) *r* has a short stem (i. e. stands on the line) while the stem of every other *r* (being in this script connected with the following letter) is long (i. e. goes below the line), except the *r* of the ligature *ri*. (For details see Loew 'Benev. Scr.' p. 137; and for an illustration from Beneventan minuscule a little later than our period, 'Introd.' facs. 120, taken from a MS. of 874-893, not "812").

92. The calligraphers of North Italy (and some other writing-centres) loved to extend the 'arm' of 'minuscule' *r*. Thus in a London MS., Cotton Nero A ii, apparently written at Verona, the next letter seems to stand quite at an interval from the *r*. Often they wrote the next letter (or letters) under the elevated 'arm'. In the Cambrai half-uncial of Cambrai 441 we find often a 'high' form of *r* with a long 'arm' stretched above the letters which follow (e. g. in 'tranquilla' on fol. 197 the arm of the 'high' *r* stretches above *an*).

93. We have seen (s. v. 'N') that the resemblance of the usual half-uncial *r* (see 'Introd.' facs. 99, 100) to the letter *n* (in the form of our n) led to the exclusive use in Continental half-uncial of the capital (and uncial) form of *n* (like our N), whereas Insular half-uncial included both forms of the letter *n*. Insular minuscule scribes were apprehensive of the dangerous

(1) It is only, as a rule, in the earlier part of our period that minuscule scribes (of any country) so far neglect the division of words as to connect the final letter of one word with the initial of another. An example of final *r* so maltreated will be found in 'Introd.' facs. 131, line 1 'cor' from a MS. of the year 744.

resemblance of this *r* (no. 2 in our list) to *n*. A few admit the no. 3 variety along with no. 2 (e. g. the Murbach scribes of Colmar 38, part ii). A few confine themselves (in the main) to the no. 1 variety (e. g. the Ratisbon scribes of Munich 14080 and 14653). But most found safety in the use of no. 4, the normal form of *r* in Insular minuscule. It may be said that by so doing they courted another danger, the confusion of *r* with *s*; for Insular *s* falls below the line (see below, s. v.). Still although the confusion of these two letters usually points to an Insular (1) minuscule exemplar, the error may be charged to Continental transcribers who were accustomed to a short-stemmed *r* and an *s* (taller than *r*) which stood on the line and therefore failed to notice the difference between the two unfamiliar forms. In reality there is a marked difference between Insular *r* with fully developed 'arm' and Insular *s* with a mere stump in place of an arm see, e. g., 'Introd.' facs. 142), although the hurry or carelessness of a scribe might occasionally almost efface it.

94. The distinguishing features were most apt to disappear in ligatures, and this is true also of Continental minuscule (see above, s. v. 'P' on the ligatures *rp* and *sp*; and below, s. v. 'S'). Anyone unfamiliar with the Corbie ab-type is apt to mistake its *r* for *s*. And yet it really keeps the two letters quite distinct. While its *r* falls below the line, its *s* (except in ligatures) stands on the line (see 'Introd.' facs. 128). On the resemblance of Insular *r* to a very open form of *p* see above, s. v. 'P'; of Continental *r* to a small form of *s*, see below, s. v. 'S'). A Merovingian type of *r* (see 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 2 'necessaria') is sometimes suggestive of *s*.

95. Of the ligatures (or connexions) of *r* with a following letter two have already been mentioned, *ri* (§ 56) and *ro* (§ 81). Not until the close of our period does *re* (with the 'angular' variety of *r* disappear from Caroline minuscule. The connexion *rg* belongs, as a rule, to an earlier stage (e. g. occasionally in the Maurdramnus Bible of 772-780), but survives in Beneventan script (e. g. Vat. lat. 3313, a 9.th century

(1) That the Insular script of German scriptoriums made the confusion easy is a statement (by Schnetz 'Neue Untersuchungen zu Valerius Maximus', p. 6) for which I should like to see the proof.

MS. of Benevento); also in Paris 13373 (Corbie, of 817-835). On *rt* see s. v. 'T'; on *rp*, s. v. 'P'; on *ru*, s. v. 'U'.

96. Of the ligatures of *r* with a preceding letter the most important is *or*, in which the uncial form of *r* is generally found wanting the stem. In line 7 of 'Introd., facs. 152 an example will be found with a less usual extension of the 'leg' of the *r* (R) under the line. The ligature (like the rarer *ur*, *pr*) was an inheritance from uncial script (cf. facs. 89, line 4), although in the latter part of our period some scribes seem to treat the r-portion (in the form of our numeral 2 in small size) as if it were a separate letter (cf. 'Introd.' facs. 154, line 8 for a poor example). And after our period this new 2-form of *r* appears after *e* as well as after *o* (e. g. in the Welsh minuscule Corpus Martianus Capella; although the *or*-ligature is rather a Continental than an Insular usage). On *tr* see below, s, v. 'T'.

S.

97. Halfway between the 'uncial' form (our s) and the 'half-uncial' form (Pl. I 83) stands what may be called the cursive form (Pl. I 66). Apart from the 'union' *os* (see § 82) and the like, this last form hardly appears, except occasionally at the end of a line, in the minuscule of our period. It usually stands partly above and partly below the line.

98. In the preceding section we found a distinction in early (Continental) usage between 'short-stemmed' *r* (standing on the line) and 'long-stemmed' *r* falling below the line), the latter being reserved for ligatures (or connexions) of *r* with a following letter. Something of the same kind applies to *s*. (Contrast in 'Introd.' facs. 129 the *s* in the ligature *st* with the form of the unconnected letter). But many (or rather most) Continental scribes came to write normally *s* on the line and not allow it to fall (to any perceptible extent) below. (Statistics of the divergence of practice have not yet been collected). While therefore in Insular minuscule both *r* and *s* fall below the line and are to a certain degree confusible (see § 93), in this Continental minuscule both stand on the line and *s* is usually a higher letter than *r*. Even a short *s* in this Continental minuscule (e. g. Visigothic *s*) does not resemble

r so much as it resembles a form (undotted) of *y* (see below, s. v.).

99. We have seen the reasons which impelled Insular minuscule scribes to use the 'uncial' variety of *r* (§ 93). The same scribes make great use of the 'uncial' form of *s*, probably with the view of avoiding the confusion of *s* and *r*, and sometimes utilize the variety to express *ss* (usually in the order, half-uncial followed by uncial). In the rude imitation of Insular half-uncial which we find in the Gatien Gospel (written at Tours) I noticed only the 'uncial' form of *s*.

100. 'Subscript' *s* (the 'half-uncial' form) is a peculiarity of Insular script. In the Berne Horace it is found literally subscript, but most scribes write, e. g., *ns* with the left extremity of the *s* attached to the right extremity of the *n*. When 'subscript' *s* is attached to 'subscript' *i* (e. g. *nis*), the hanging group spoils the regularity of the script in a way that no Caroline minuscule scribe would tolerate. On 'split-backed' *s* see above, s. v. 'F'.

101. The curious expression of *ss* seen in line 2 of 'Introd.' fasc. 114 ('potuissent') deserves mention as a peculiarity (a cursive usage) of North Italian scribes. It is generally confusible with *ns*.

102. The ligature of *n* (in the form N) and *s* is almost as common (especially in majuscule script) as that of N and T. The *s* usually takes the 'uncial' or the 'cursive' form, but is sometimes reduced to a mere curve (the upper part of s) projecting upwards from the upper right extremity of the N (similarly *us* which resembles 'is'; similarly *os*, etc.). The rare ligature *sc* (with the lower half of *c* hanging from the centre of the 'branch' of Insular *s*) in the Northumbrian minuscule of Cambridge Trin. 216 (written by Bede?) might easily be confused with *k*. A more prevalent feature of early Insular minuscule is the 'union' *bs* (especially in the ending 'bus', with 'suprascript' *u*). On the 'knob-backed' *s* (the 'half-uncial form, standing on the line or at least barely projecting below) which is a characteristic feature of that calligraphic minuscule practised in the Corbie scriptorium in the abbacy of Maurdramnus (772-780), see above, s. v. 'F'.

T.

103. The short cross-beam, often barely perceptible (a mere hair-line) which makes *t* in Rustic Capitals and early Uncials often confusible with the letters *i* and *l*, is unknown to Minuscules (and Half-uncials). The Insular minuscule script of some centres (e. g. Fulda) frequently goes to the other extreme and prolongs unduly the cross-beam (sometimes tapering and with a slight upward slant; sometimes stretching over the preceding as over the following letter, so that *atu* with open *a* exhibits five uprights crowned with one horizontal stroke). And when the majuscule size of the letter ('high' *t*) is admitted into minuscule script whether for the sake of variety or to save space at or near the end of a line or in the ligature of N with T, e. g. 'Introd.' facs. 153) the cross-beam, whether straight or sinuous, is never stinted in length.

104. The Insular *t* (Pl. I 87) is recognized also by most Continental scribes, although they often make the left end of the cross-beam curve downwards. This curve may be continued until it meets the stem and becomes a (more or less circular loop. 'Looped' *t* is the Visigothic form confusible with *a*, but not with Visigothic *a*, which is 'open'; see 'Introd.' facs. 116). It became the Beneventan form too; but hardly until after our period, throughout which the 'curved' form seems to prevail. The two forms compete in 'Introd.' facs. 120, taken from a Monte Cassino MS. of 874-893 (not "812"). They compete also in Murbach minuscule (see facs. 129, taken from a Murbach MS.), in the Corbie en-type, in Burgundian minuscule, and so on. In an Echternach MS., Paris 9530 (of "8-9 cent."), one scribe uses the 'looped', another the 'Insular' variety. 'Looped' *t* may invade even the Insular script of some Continental centres; witness its occasional appearance in Paris 9525 ("end 8 cent."), written at Echternach.

105. Not 'looped' but 'curved' *t* is the usual competitor with Insular *t* in St Gall minuscule. Winithar affects the 'curved' form. In St Gall 126 one scribe uses the 'curved' form, another the 'Insular'. But the statement (by Glogger 'Das Leidener Glossar', part i, p. 5) that this form with a pronounced curve (like a small *c*) is "especially common at St Gall" is a dangerous guide; for, as we have seen, the

'curved' form seems commoner than the 'looped' in the earlier stages of Beneventan minuscule and appears even in an early specimen of Visigothic, Autun 27, not to mention its frequent occurrences elsewhere (e. g. in the Corbie Leutchar type). An upward curved right end of the cross-beam is affected for *t* at the end of a line by various Continental scribes which makes the letter exactly like the symbol of *tur* (and, after c. 815, *tus*). If we find in a MS., e. g., *amatur* (*-tus*) for *amat*, we have some ground for guessing that the word stood at the end of the line in the exemplar.

106. A variety of Insular *g* has been mentioned in which the right half of the cross-beam is wanting, so that *g* takes some resemblance to *z*. We find the same variety of *t* especially, but by no means only, in Insular script; e. g. it is a prominent feature of the Lorsch MS., Vat. Pal. 195. The angle sometimes becomes a curve in the Anglosaxon minuscule of a MS. in the same collection, Vat. Pal. 235; and on the minuscule leaf (fol. 116) of the Book of Durrow we actually find *t* written like reversed S (in the word 'transgressor'). Another Insular affectation, which makes *t* resemble *ti* (with 'subscript' *i*) has already been mentioned (§ 58). In Insular script is 'winged' *t*, in which the cross-beam takes high curves on the right and left, like the wings of a bird preparing to fly (Pl. I 67). It may be the origin of that *t* by which we detect the hand of a Constance scribe (Pl. I 68).

107. Of forms whereby space is saved (at or near the end of a line, to secure correct syllable-division) the 'high' form has already been mentioned (and the ligature of N and T along with U and T, e. g. facs. 98, line 3 end). Visigothic scribes prefer 'suprascript' *t* (a usage not unknown to other scribes), and when *t* stands upon *i* the 'high' form of *t* is reproduced. In Visigothic script this denotes *it*. Insular scribes prefer 'subscript' *t*, especially in *nt*, but also in *it* (and even *nit*, *uit*, *nti*, *uti*, all with 'subscript' *i*).

108. Another variety of this Protean letter, but only found in ligatures, characterizes North Italian (cursive) script. We may call it 'recumbent' *t*, for the letter, instead of standing upright, leans on its side, e. g. *ct* (§ 17). A mistake like *rum* for *st* should suggest an early North Italian exemplar, like

Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg. 64 or Milan L 99 sup. (both written at Bobbio) in which this 'recumbent' *t* is, to all appearance, reduced to a mere cross-stroke down through the (extended) arm of the *s* (Pl. I 69) and exactly resembles the common abbreviation-symbol of *rum*. (Contrast the Beneventan *st* of 'Introd' facs. 120, line 1).

109. A Visigothic variety which, like the North Italian 'recumbent' *t*, is proper (but not wholly confined) to ligatures we may call 'circular' *t* (Pl. I 70). It resembles Greek minuscule Alpha and sometimes invites confusion with *o*. In other Continental this circular letter denotes *c* in ligatures, but in Visigothic *t*. Thus in 'Introd.' fasc. 114, line 6 the *ce* of 'particeps' is so written by a North Italian. A Spanish transcriber would interpret it as *te*, although he often writes *te*, etc. with an apparent double circle (Pl. I 71), the 'loose ends' of the 'Alpha' being continued towards the *e*. A group like *tto* presents an extraordinary appearance (like four successive o's) when written in this fashion.

110. The ligatures of this Protean letter (more multiform than *e* itself; § 31) are of importance for the palaeographer. In 'ancient minuscule' (i. e. cursive pressed into service as book-hand in scholia, marginal indexes, etc.) *t* is often represented by a mere horizontal stroke. For example, in the marginalia of the Bologna Lactantius the *t* of 'ratio' looks like a mere hyphen between the 'open' *a* and the 'i longa'. This ancient usage (frequent in North Italian cursive and elsewhere) is conserved by Insular scribes (mainly in the ligature *et*). In the Anglosaxon half-uncial of Durham A II 17 we find it at the ends of lines; *it*, *at*, *nt*, etc. are there expressed by *i*, *a*, *n*, etc. followed by a long horizontal stroke. (Similarly in the Lindisfarne and Maihingen Gospels.) Since the same scribe affects at line-endings a lengthening of the 'tongue' of *c* (the 'arm' of *r*, etc.), a transcriber would be prone to mistake his *e* so written for *et*, and errors like *faceret* for *facere* would arise. In the Boniface Gospels 'dicunt' (on fol. 9ᵛ) is written as *dicun* followed by a horizontal stroke. The Insular *et* ligature shews this horizontal stroke accompanied beneath by the lower curve of *t* (see 'Introd.' facs. 135; 136; 137 column ii, line 1), the horizontal stroke being often sinuous

(see facs. 142, line 4; 143, line 15); and this expression (1) of *et* is the old expression found in the 'ancient minuscule' of the Bologna Lactantius and Escurial Augustine marginalia and the 'quarter-uncial' of the Sessorian Augustine (Rome, Bibl. Vitt. Eman., Sess. 55), and even (at the ends of lines) the uncial of the Oxford Eusebius Chronicles.

111. Continental scribes write the ligature differently (like Pl. I 86, as in our 'etc.' symbol), and one scribe of Munich 28118 (a MS. presented by Benedict of Aniane to the abbot of Trêves and written probably at Trèves, at the end of the 8.th century) employs both the Insular and the Continental form of the ligature. In this Continental *et* ligature the t-portion often ends in a tag to the left, which prevents confusion (§ 133) with the *ec* ligature ('Introd.' facs. 120, line 2).

112. In ligatures like *nt* the analogous expression of *t* resembles a sucker rising from the ground (see 'Introd.' facs. 126, line 11 'sunt'; facs. 128, line 2 'student'), the ground being represented by the extended base of the second upright of the *n*. This form of *nt* is unknown to Insular script. Similar, but confined to an earlier stage, is the *at* ligature (seen in facs. 131, line 10).

113. Visigothic ligatures of *nt*, *at*, etc. make the *t* confusible with *c* (Pl. I 72), *nuntius* resembling *nuncius*, *natio* resembling *nacio*, and so on. This c-form of the t-stroke appears as early as the marginalia of the Escurial Augustine, e. g. 'atende' (like 'acende'), along with the 'hyphen'-form, e. g. 'gratias' (in the subscription 'deo gratias', with a 'hyphen'-stroke between 'open' *a* and 'i longa'. It may be a developement of the 'hyphen'-form, the 'hyphen' being added without lifting the pen. If so, the body of the c-mark is correctly described as a mere connecting line and does not properly represent the stem of *t*.

114. In the Laon az-script, etc. the 'hyphen'-mark in *nt*, *it*, etc. becomes oblique instead of horizontal and is attached to the middle of the *n* or *i* (Pl. I 73). It seems a half-way stage between the original 'hyphen' attached to the top of the letter (as in the Insular half-uncial examples mentioned above)

(1) Less frequent is the variety (Pl. I 85) found in the Anglosaxon script of Durham A II 16 (half-uncial), London Cotton Tib. C ii and Vesp. B vi.

and the subsequent 'sucker' rising upwards from the base of the letter. But until statistics have been collected (especially from early charters) the history of these ligatures must remain doubtful. Certainly the Constance scribes regarded the 'sucker' as the equivalent of the stem and not of the cross-beam of the *t*, for they crown it with that small half-circle mark which, as we have seen, they substitute for the cross-beam of unligatured *t* (§ 106).

115. Some statistics have been collected for ligatures of *t* with a following letter (by Loew 'Stud. Pal.'), but a fuller list would be welcome. The most important of these ligatures is *ti*. We have seen (s. v. 'I') that the practice was to make the *i* an appendage of the *t*. This appendage usually took the form of a long curve passing below the line. To append this curve conveniently to the cross-beam of the *t*, the cross-beam was tilted upwards on the left and the whole letter sloped to the right instead of remaining perpendicular. The 'Insular' form of *t* with *i* thus appended became as in Pl. I 74 or (with the under curve of the *t* continued a little further) as in Pl. I 10 'unigeni*ti*', 11 'gra*ti*ae'. This is the natural form of the *ti* ligature for all scribes who use Insular *t*. It is confusible with *q* ('activam' with 'ac quam'). Still more with the Insular abbreviation symbol of 'qui' (*q* with *i* above) when the long curve becomes a perpendicular line and the *t* is shifted round more to the right. The 'curved' and the 'perpendicular' forms appear side by side in such MSS. as Vat. lat. 491 (Irish minuscule of Bobbio).

116. When 'looped' *t* was used the ligature became like a reversed Greek minuscule Beta, either sloping to the left or upright, and either with curved or perpendicular back. The 'reversed Beta' form is never used by the scribes who never used 'looped' *t*, i. e. Insular scribes, whether in the ligature *ti* or in the analogous formations of *te*, *tu*, etc. (see 'Introd.' facs. 124, line 1. 'te', line 2 'tu', line 5 'ti'; 125, line 1 'ti', 'te', 'tu'). Their rare appearance in the Insular script of Continental scriptoriums (e. g. *te* and *ti* occasionally in the Anglosaxon minuscule of a Fulda MS., Cassel theol. Q. 6) stamps them as Continental intruders (1).

(1) The resemblance of 'Insular' *t* in ligatures (other than *ti*) to *a* (the 'uncial' form; § 1) is probably the reason why *ti* is the only ligature of this

117. The separation of the two loops of the 'reversed Beta' is an early feature, e. g. *ti* (as in Pl. I 75), *tr* in the Bobbio MSS., Vienna 16 (of. "c. 700") and Milan L 99 sup. ("mid. 8 cent.").

118. The ligature *tri* (from 'Insular' *t*) has in the Anglosaxon script of Echternach the form seen in Pl. I 76. A peculiarly Insular form of the *ti* ligature, which with 'subscript' *o* expresses *tio* (see Pl. I 14 'resurrec*tio*nem') and with 'subscript' *s*, *tis* (see Pl. I 15 'men*tis*'), will be found in Pl. I 12 '*ti*muerunt', 13 'vestimenta'. It has been analysed above (§ 54) into *t* with superimposed Insular cursive 'i longa'. The formation of the *tr* ligature ofter this pattern (Pl. I 77) seems to be a malformation on false analogy of the *tis* ligature and should properly express 'tir' rather than *tr*. Another malformation turns up here and there, the substitution of the 'Continental' cursive *e* (see § 28) for *t* in ligatures, especially *ti* (Pl. I 78). Transcribers would be justified in interpreting this as *ei*. A third is the use (in early North Italian cursive; also in the Boniface marginalia of the Codex Fuldensis and the 'ancient minuscule' in Paris 13367 and the marginalia of the Douce Primasius) of the ancient Nota of *tio* (Pl. I 79) to express *ti*. Its difference from the commoner form of the *ti* ligature is very slight. It merely wants the projecting stroke (the left half of the cross-beam of the *t*) above the loop, and such MSS. as Milan D. 268 inf. (North Italian cursive shew the ligature sometimes wanting this projection but with pear-shaped, not circular loop. A fifth (hardly a ligature) is that extraordinary expression of *tio* by what ought to express 'toi' (Pl. I 80), which is confined to 'ancient minuscule' (e. g. of Paris 12214 + Petrograd Q. I 4, of. 6 cent).

119. The 'reversed Beta' ligatures are a criterion not only of Continental provenance, but of date. In Beneventan script indeed the *te, tu* ligatures (as wel as *ti*; see below) survive long after our period (see Loew 'Ben. Scr.' p. 148 for details), and also in Visigothic (e. g. *tr* in Madrid Bibl. Acad. Hist. 25,

form favoured by the scribes of our Islands, and why *tr* was expressed by another form (see below). However *te* (resembling *ae*) appears in the Book of Armagh and is not rare in some Continental centres of Insular minuscule, e. g. Echternach.

of 946; *tr*, *te* in Madrid Tol. 15, 12, of 915; *to*, *ty*, *u* in Madrid Tol. 10, 25, of 902). But outside of Italy and Spain they hardly occur after Charlemagne's time (e. g. *ti*, *te* in a Salzburg MS., Munich 210, of 818; *ti* in a Freising MS., Munich 6262, of. 854-875, in which however the misuse of the ei-ligature for *ti* is also in vogue; § 118).

120. Another useful criterion is the *st* ligature (see 'Introd.' facs. 143, line 9 'astra'), a ligature found occasionally even in the half-uncial of the Basilican Hilary. It is a Continental, not an Insular usage, and its occurrence in Insular script is proof of provenance from some Continental scriptorium where Insular script was practised. A scribe of our Islands would write *st* as it appears in line 13 of the facsimile just mentioned ('baptista'), with the arm of *s* never actually touching the top of *t*. The distinction is a fine one, and it stands to reason that the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes or the hurry of writing would be likely on occasion to cross the forbidden line. So that the rule is not devoid of exceptions. Line 9 of this facsimile furnishes one; for the plate comes from a MS. written in Mercia. The Book of Cerne too uses the ligature. It was the prayer-book of Bp. Ethelwald of Lindisfarne (of Lichfield?). So does London Royal 2 A xx. So do the Northumbrian MSS., Durham A II 16 (although one of the scribes avoids it), Durham B II 30, London Cotton Tib. A xiv and Tib. C ii, Cambridge Trin. 216 ("de manu Baedae"). On the other hand some foreign specimens of Insular script are free from it: e. g. Metz 76 Prophetae (in the part written by the first scribe; for the second scribe allows it); Munich 6237 (written at Freising by Peregrinus, c. 780; Colmar 38, part ii (written at Murbach, "8 cent."). These three examples are all Anglosaxon. In spite of these exceptions we must regard the presence of the *st* ligature in Insular script (e. g. in St Gall 51 Gospels, in Irish half-uncial) as fair evidence of Continental provenance. Often it is difficult to say whether there is actually a ligature or merely close proximity of the two letters with the stem of the *t* immediately under the end of the branch of the *s*.

121. The *ct* ligature has been described above (§ 17). It too is Continental, not Insular (a Continental intrusion in a rather cursive part of the Anglosaxon minuscule of a Werden

MS., Berlin th. Q. 139, foll. 61ᵛ-63ᵛ). So is the *rt* ligature which is usually clearly distinguishable, with its angular shoulder (cf. 'Introd.' facs. 154, line 7 'participes'), from the *st* ligature (cf. line 6 'abstinentes'), although the confusion of the two by transcribers (often late transcribers to whom the *rt* ligature was unfamiliar) is by no means rare.

122. The letters *ti* before a vowel (e. g. in the word *natio*) had in Late and Medieval Latin an assibilated sound (unless *s* preceded, e. g. 'quaestio). which they had not in words like *nati* or *natis*. For the convenience of readers (of the lessons in church or of some pious book in the refectory) isolated attempts were made by scribes of our period to distinguish the two sounds by the writing. The Laon az-script normally (but not rigorously) reserves for the unassibilated sound the 'reversed Beta' ligature (for details see Rev. Bibl. 24, 22). North Italian scribes often reserve the same ligature for the assibilated sound, and this became the strict rule in Beneventan script (hardly in the earliest stages; for details see Loew 'Ben. Scr.' p. 303). In some specimens of the Corbie ab-script the assibilated sound is expressed by *t* with 'i longa' (in the j-form; see § 55) but never very consistently (for details see Rev. Bibl. 24, 24), and this became about a hundred years after our period the Visigothic practice (for details see Loew 'Stud. Pal.', where it is stated that Frankish scribes as a rule preferred to express the assibilated sound by *ci*, e. g. *nacio, gracia, racio*).

U.

123. The danger of confusion between *u* and (open) *a* caused *a*, as we have seen (s. v.), to take certain forms. It operated no less in the formation of *u*. The projection of the right side of *u* below the line avoided this danger. That is an early form found, for example, in the 'ancient minuscule' of the (contemporary?) marginalia of the uncial Bologna Lactantius and in the earliest examples of Insular minuscule, e. g. St John's Gospel in the Book of Mulling (before 696), the Naples Charisius (written at Bobbio "c. 700"); and even later Insular scribes often affect it. When St Moling writes 'quis', the *q* (in open form) differs from the *u* mainly in the greater length of the projection below the line. Spanish scri-

bes often write initial *U* with this projection so exaggerated that the letter might be mistaken for (open *Q*. (Similarly in a Lyons MS. of Leidrad's time, Lyons 608). And outside of Spain, especially in uncial and half-uncial script, the ligature *ui* (see above, s. v. 'I') is often indistinguishable from *q* (in that open form in which, for example, Winithar, the St Gall scribe of c. 750, loves to write *q*).

124. The v-form of *u* was another preventive of confusion with *a*. It is greatly affected by Welsh (and Cornish) scribes (see my 'Wel. Scr.' for details), but is by no means rare in other script (e. g. it is common in the Anglosaxon script of Vat. Pal. 554, even *vi* with subscript *i*; and the ending 'orum' in the Douai Gospels aormally shews this form). It was in its turn confusible with an occasional type of *y* (see below, s. v.). Indeed a *y*-form of *u* is sometimes found, with the right-hand stroke coutinued far below the line (as in the Veronese cursive of Verona 33 Augustine de Agone Christiano, in the ending 'rum' on fol. 41^{r}, etc.). When the *v*-form was employed in the ligature *ru* (see 'Introd.' facs. 131, line 4 'lacrimarum'), it somewhat resembled *i*, and the ending 'rum' might be miscopied 'rim'.

125. The letter *u* is, we may say, indistinguishable from *i* in the ligatures *us*, *un*, *ut*. etc., ligatures much used in uncial and half-uncial script (as well as minuscule), especially (at least in the older or more calligraphic specimens) at the end of a line. For an example of the ligature 'ut' see Introd. facs. 98, line 4 (from the half-uncial Basilican Hilary). It was at the end of a line that calligraphers welcomed this means of saving space and enabling the word (or syllable) to be completed and not left to straggle into the next line.

126. But the commonest device for economy of space was to write the *u* above the line, and one can hardly turn over the pages of even any uncial or half-uncial MS. without finding 'qui', 'quo', 'quod', etc. (especially, but by no means only, at the ends of the lines) written with suprascript *u*, the most frequently suprascript letter in all Latin script. The Hilary facsimile just mentioned ('Introd.' facs. 98) offers 'aput' so written at the end of line 6; 'quam' near the end of line 9; 'qui' (of 'falsiloquium') and 'quod' in the middle of line 10.

127. Suprascript *u* takes so many forms as to defy accurate classification. We may however specify the following:

(1) a regular v-form, like the sides of a small isosceles triangle.

(2) a regular rounded form, like the lower half of a small circle or oval. This is precisely the mark used in grammatical writings to distinguish a short from a long vowel. In such writings there is danger of confusion. Thus one MS. of Marius Victorinus substitutes *huic*, for *hĭc* (i. e. *hic* with short *i*), the scribe having mistaken the mark of shortness for a suprascript *u* (see Keil 'Gram. lat.' 5, 208, 9); another substitutes *ruoma* for *rŏma* (a mispronunciation of 'Roma'). Keil (ibid. 5, 285, 7) has infortunately admitted this corruption *Ruoma* into his text, from which it has found its way into works on the Romance languages (see Amer. Journ. Phil. 37, 34).

(3) various irregular v-forms, with one or other of the sides exaggerated in length and curved rather than straight. The Hilary facsimile ('Introd.' facs. 98) offers one of these. Spanish scribes affect a form which faces to the left (quite unlike suprascript *a*) and which is occasionally replaced by a mere curve like our apostrophe.

(4) various irregular rounded lower half-circle) forms. Sometimes. the curve is very shallow and broad (as in the half-uncial of Verona 59, where it occasionally approaches to a mere horizontal line); sometimes the right side shoots up in a hair-line, a favourite form with Insular scribes.

(5) a horizontal stroke beginning in a slight curve, an upward curve on the left, a downward curve on the right. This may be a developement of (3) or (4), and the downward curve may be really nothing but the connexion with a following letter. It is exactly identical with the suprascript simbol for *m* used by Insular (and other) scribes (e. g. 'Introd.' facs. 138, line 16 'tantu*m*'. Thus in the half-uncial Verona 42, on fol. 148^{r} at the end of a line, 'quam' is written with this as an expression of *u* (above the *a*) and of *m* (after the *a*). We find this suprascript *u* as early as the 'ancient minuscule' marginalia of the Bembine Terence and of the Escurial Augustine on Baptism. This suprascript m-stroke is often used as a mere abbreviation-stroke, and in such MSS. as Petrograd F. I 5 Tripertite Psalter (in the Leutchar script of Corbie) it plays all three parts of *u*, *m*, abbreviation-stroke.

(6) a form resembling (5), but with the downward curve on the left, the upward on the right; possibly derived from an irregular v-form like that seen in 'Introd.' facs. 83 (from the Herculanean papyrus of a poem on the battle of Actium). This mark too may play in MSS. all the three parts of *u*, *m*, abbreviation-stroke.

(7) a sickle-form, which is often indistinguishable from suprascript *a*). Sometimes it is so narrowed end carelessly written that it would resemble (5) if (5) were written vertically and not horizontally. In the "N. E. France" minuscule the 'sickle' often loses its handle and becomes a mere *c* in shape. (This *c* denotes *m* in Burgundian minuscule, etc., and is by some scribes used as an abbreviation-stroke; for some details see Rev. Bibl. 22, 411). The Laon az-type, which substitutes angles for the curves of *a* (see above, s. v. 'A'), turns the curve of the 'sickle' into something more like a square (or oblong), open on the right.

128. That this expression of *u* in regular 'sickle' form or in irregular form (something like a narrow s with the lower curve incomplete) was proper to suprascript *u* cannot be asserted. For in early (cursive) script of various countries (not of our Islands) it denotes *u* on the line. An example (from a Merovingian book-hand) will be found in 'Introd.' facs. 126, with the more careful sickle-form in the last line ('s*u*nt'), the less careful s-form in line 4 ('-rum'). This cursive *u* is a constant feature of the Merovingian book-hand of London Harl. 5041; Berne 611; St Gall 214; it appears in the cursive marginalia of Paris 10910 Fredegarius (of the year 678) and of Paris 13367 Augustine; in the Luxeuil type of London Add. 11878; in the Spanish cursive passages of Escurial R II 18; in the Veronese cursive of Verona 33 Augustine de Agone Christiano; and occasionally in other early MSS., e. g. Berlin Phill. 1743 Concilia (from Rheims), and even in the ab-type of Donaueschingen 18 Orosius.

129. Suprascript it is of far more frequent occurrence, but always confined to the earlier MSS., a cursive feature which would not be favoured by 9.th century scribes (though we find it, e. g., in Paris 11738, of c. 840, in 'quo', etc.). A spanish example is Verona 89 Breviarium Mozarabicum; an Italian, Vat. lat. 5763 Isidore's Etymologies (written at Bobbio, "beg.

8 cent."). It is regularly used in such Merovingian types as the Luxeuil type (e. g. Paris 9427 the Luxeuil Lectionary), the Laon az-type (see above), the "N. E. France" type (see above); not to mention the less cursive Corbie en-type. It is known to Winithar, the St Gall scribe of c. 750 (e. g. St Gall 907); to Thomas, the scribe of the Trèves Gospels: to more than one scribe of Epinal 68 (of the year 744), and so on. In an "8.th cent" MS. from Fleury, Paris nouv. acq. 1597 Paterius, I noticed it in 'qui' (written qi with this s-mark over the right side of the *q*). That expression of 'qui' so common in MSS. of St Gall and Bobbio, etc., the letter *q* followed by a long, narrow s-mark which often begins high above the *q* and is prolonged down to the line, seems to exhibit this cursive *u* combined with subscript *i*. (For a less probable explanation see Zeitschr. celt. Phil. 9, 305). This expression of *ui* is often indistinguishable from the expression of *u*, but is rarely found except after the letter *q*.

130. After the letter *q* however the favourite expression of suprascript *u* before any other vowel, and even sometimes before *i*, is in all Merovingian script.

(8) an arch, bridging the interval between *q* and the following letter (see Rev. Bibl. 24, 21). We find 'que', 'qua', 'quo', etc. regularly so written in the Luxeuil type, the Laon az-type (and its predecessor, the a-type of Petrograd Q. I 14 Gregory's Homilies, from Corbie). Similarly in the early Bobbio script of Milan D 268 inf. (e. g. 'que') and S 45 sup. (e. g. 'qua'), in the early Vercelli 183 (e. g. 'quod' fol. 205, with the arch not connected with the *q*), in Munich Univ. 4.to 3 Sulpicius Severus (e. g. 'qua') with the arch not connected with the *q*). An example from the Laon az-type will be seen in 'Introd.' facs. 125, line 3 'qua', line 4 and line 5 'quod'.

131. Except (1), and (2), and perhaps (3) and (4), all the above-mentioned types of suprascript *u* are capable of playing the part of a mere abbreviation-stroke (and also of an expression of *m*). It remains to specify a form in which the identity of the *u* seems entirely lost,

(9) a horizontal stroke, precisely the same as the usual abbreviation-stroke (and a common symbol of *m*). It seems unwise to attempt to refer this to an exceptionally careless manner of writing *u*. Rather the conventional expression of

suprascript *u* had come to be regarded as the same thing as the abbreviation-stroke and the symbol of *m*. In Cambridge Corp. 304 Iuvencus (of unknown provenance) the abbreviation-stroke is a horizontal straight line with a barb on the left and a dot above the centre. The same plays the part of suprascript *u* (e. g. 'quid' fol. 107^{r}) and of the symbol of *m*. (Further details in my 'Not. Lat.' p. 358, where it is shewn how confusion of, e. g., aūm 'avum' and aūm 'autem' must have resulted from the practice).

X.

132. The *x* of uncial ('Introd.' facs. 91, line 3) and half-uncial script (facs. 100, line 3) consists of a thick stroke down from left to right and a thin stroke down from right to left across it. (The thin stroke is often prolonged below the line). Departures from this normal type in the minuscule of our period are usually capricious and do not offer safe clues to provenance. In Insular script the continuity of the thin cross-stroke is often abandoned for the form seen in facs. 136, line 8: but the same thing is found in some other scripts also, e. g. Visigothic. The Anglosaxon script of Fulda loves to prolong the thin cross-stroke away below the line and to end it with a return-stroke (or a loop) half as long as the projection, but the same trick appears also in, e. g., the Anglosaxon minuscule of a St Bertin MS. Boulogne 63-64. (For this Insular *x* with 'return-stroke' see Pl. I 19 'texunt', from the Leyden Priscian). Two Werden MSS., now at Berlin (th. F 356 and 366, both in Anglosaxon script) end the thin cross-line below with a large claw or comma-mark, but this appendage too is found occasionally in Anglosaxon minuscule of other provenance. (Pl. I 19 shews an example from the Irish minuscule of the Leyden Priscian). Some Continental minuscule scribes begin the thick stroke at the top with a curl which might be mistaken for an *o*, but there is hardly evidence enough for calling this freak by any less vague name than 'Merovingian' (e. g. sometimes in the Laon az-type, in the Luxeuil type, in Cassel theol. Q. 10, etc.). The strange 'high' *x* which appears now and then in our unique specimen of Cornish cursive, Berne 671, is perhaps worthy of mention (see Pl. I 16 'lux', 17 'dixi' 18 'sexta').

133. The ligature *ex* (facs. 126, line 5), with the thin cross-stroke of the *x* continued below the line, was hardly confusible with the ligatures *et* (facs. 127, line 2) or *ec* (see § 111) by transcribers who were familiar with the trio. It was when one or other of the three (first the *ec* ligature, then the *ex*) went out of use that the real danger of confusion arose. And when *ec* went out of fashion and the need of keeping the *et* ligature different from *ec* ceased, *et* came to be written exactly as *ec* had been written in our period. Indeed there are examples of the writing of *et* dangerously like *ec* before then.

Y.

134. One method of forming *y* in uncial script will be seen in 'Introd.' facs. 90, col. ii, line 3. To the thick angular body-stroke is added on the right, opposite the angle, a thin stroke ending in a knob. In half-uncial and minuscule the body-stroke was usually curved (see facs. 136, line 4) instead of angular (and often in uncial too), so that the letter bore some resemblance to half-uncial and minuscule *s*. We may call this the s type. Another we may call the Y-type, for it resembles our capital letter. When the Y-type was reduced in size (in breadth rather than in length) and the v-portion rested on the line, we get the y-type, resembling our ordinary letter y (and often, like it, ending in an upward curl or dot). When the lower strokes of the Y-and y-types are removed or reduced to a minimum, we get the V- and v-types. These five types are really ten, for each may be dotted or undotted. The dot between the two tops of the letter was taken by Roman script from Greek. The minuscule writers of our period seem to insert or omit it at will, just as they do with the dot accompanying an abbreviation-symbol (e. g. sometimes id.ē and sometimes idē for 'id est').

135. A peculiarly Insular variety seems the result of connecting the dot with the left top (see Pl. I 20 'abyssum'). For this is a thing Insular scribes are prone to do. The 'tail' (or reversed apostrophe) of the h-mark which is the Insular abbreviation-symbol of 'autem', the similar 'tail' which they attach to the letter *p* to symbolize 'per', the apostrophe which joins the cross-beam of *g* on the right to symbolize 'igitur', all these seem the result of attaching the dot to *h* and *p* and *g*

without lifting the pen (see my 'Not. Lat.' p. 67). Sometimes (e. g. in two Bobbio MSS. in Irish script, Vat. lat. 491 and Florence Ashburnham. 60) the curves of this 'Insular' *y* become angles and the letter gets the F-form and might be confused with *f*. In Continental script 'Insular' *y* is a feature of the Corbie scriptorium, especially of the Leutchar-type, but also of the (earlier?) en-type, etc. The dot is patently joined by a hair-line to the left top in such Corbie MSS. as Petrograd F. I 5 and 6 (both Leutchar-type) and F. VI 3.

136. A peculiarly Visigothic variety is the 'high' y-type (not the Y-type). It is often so shaped by Spanish scribes as if they meant to suggest *ui*, for a mark like suprascript *u* (see § 127) seems to cap an 'i longa'. And it is difficult to resist the suspicion that they thought of their 'i longa' and 'high y' as related forms. In writing 'ait', 'Cain', 'Achaia', etc. they use now 'i longa', now 'high y', apparently at caprice. Editors are (possibly with reason) reluctant to print 'ayt', 'Cayn', 'Achaya', although they print 'martyr', etc., where precisely the same letter appears.

137. Apart from 'Insular' and 'Visigothic' *y* we get very vague clues to the provenance of a MS. of our period from the way in which *y* is written. Some MSS. offer a variety of types, e. g. a Compiègne MS., Paris 17451, has seven more or less recognizable formations. Perhaps we may say that a y-type is likely to be found in MSS. of Italy, Switzerland and Bavaria, and that the s-type, especially in small size, has its home in France. The great majority of MSS. offer one or other (or both) of this pair, the y-type and the s-type and both are as often dotted as undotted. The dot would save the latter from the danger of confusion with *s*, for the small-sized s-type is very like a small-sized *s*, e. g. Visigothic *s*. Perhaps the likeness had something to do with the choice of 'high' *y* by Spanish scribes. Another way of escaping the danger was to exaggerate the slope of the y-form (towards the right). This produced what we may call 'recumbent' *y* which seems to lie on its side, resting on the line and only slightly projected below. The 'recumbent' form is known to Insular as well as Continental scribes. A Rheims MS., Berlin Phill. 1743, offers a 'recumbent' v-form (small-

sized, with very obtuse angle, and dotted. On an occasional form of *u* resembling *y* see § 124.

Z.

138. Insular minuscule (and half-uncial) is wonderfully consistent in projecting the lower angle in a longish spear or horn (see 'Introd.' facs. 141, line 5). This prevents confusion with a common type of Insular *t* and with the z-variety of Insular *g* (see above, § 45). The upper angle was projected in a longish horn in the Laon az-script (Pl. I 81). Another local variety worthy of mention appears sometimes in North Italian minuscule with the ti-ligature (see § 115), in one or other of its forms, used as the upper part of the *z* (as Pl. I 82, in Vercelli 183 Jerome's de Viris Illustribus, "8 cent."; as Pl. I 83, in Verona 42 Gregory's Pastoralis Cura and in Milan Ambr. C 98 inf. Maximus' Homilies). This is a cursive variety, found in early North Italian documents (Loew 'Stud. Pal.' p. 27). The Visigothic variety which resembles Insular *g* has already been mentioned (§ 38). And it may be worth while to call attention to a unique form (somewhat like Y) found in the Bobbio Missal, Paris 13246 (of unknown provenance), since Delisle in his account of this MS. mistook it for *c* in the word 'Lazarus' (fol. 8[r]).

For the other varieties, large-sized or small-sized, sloping or upright, with top- and bottom-strokes straight or curved, it is difficult (in the absence of statistics) to find among them any satisfactory tests of place or time. The high form with the top deeply curved (like the lower half of an oval) might easily be mistaken for *an* (with suprascript *a*; § 4).

SOME EARLY SCRIPTS OF THE CORBIE SCRIPTORIUM

BY THE LATE P. LIEBAERT.

In the obituary notice of Abbé Paul Liebaert in the 'Classical Review' he was declared likely to have become a second Mabillon. That this declaration was not exaggerated I realized when I examined his large collection of photographs (with negatives) of MSS. and his careful notes on a large number of MSS. in a large number of European libraries. These photographs and notes are now in the Vatican Library.

Of all Liebaert's palaeographical projects the one which most interested me was a projected History of the Corbie Scriptorium. Many a talk have I had with him on this fascinating subject. So many that, although he left no written record, I can supply from memory, at least a portion of his discoveries, the three types of Corbie minuscule which preceded what was called by Traube "the old script of Corbie", but is now called 'the ab-script of Corbie'. ED.].

(1) *The en-type* (Plate II).

The earliest in appearance of the three might be called 'the em-type', because a prominent feature is the form of the letter *e* in ligature with such letters as *m*, *r*, etc. But since another prominent feature is its uncial *n*, it seems better to call it by a combination of these two, 'the en-type'; just as we call the type previously mentioned 'the ab-type', because one prominent feature in it is a curious form of *a* and another is a curious form of *b*. Indeed since the eye is caught not only by its *e* (in ligature) and its *n* (of uncial, not often minuscule shape), but also by its *a*, an open letter with thin horns, we might describe it best as 'the ena-type'; but the mention of three letters is unwieldy, so that the name 'the en-type of Cobrie' seems best.

The plate is taken from fol. 8^{v} of a MS. (lat. 13349) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, containing Jerome 'in Ecclesiasten'. The plate is in natural size, like all the plates in this journal. The eye soon detects the peculiarities of this early-looking type of script, a type which it is impossible to mistake or to forget, once one has acquainted himself with the

three prominent features, the beetle-headed *e* in ligatures, the uncial *n*, the open, horned *a*.

Another plate from this MS. will be found in Delisle's 'Cabinet des Manuscrits' (pl. xvi, 2) along with others from its neighbour volumes (with other works of Jerome), lat. 13347 pl. xiii, 2) and lat. 13348 (pl. xiii, 6-7). In Delisle's pl. xiii, 2 a curious form of *y* will be noticed (in the word *aegypto* in the second line). The left branch of the *y* is curved round at the top towards the right. This is an Insular (especially Irish?) form of the letter (see Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, ix 307), and is a common feature of all types of early Corbie minuscule. Since Corbie was a Luxeuil foundation, it seems reasonable to find in its use at Corbie a trace of Irish influence. Less likely perhaps is the supposition that Insular scribes and Corbie scribes, quite independently of each other, hit upon this device of adding the dot between the two branches of *y* without raising the pen (cf. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, xxxiii 401; and for a similar treatment of the original dot in the Insular 'autem' and 'per' abbreviation-symbols, 'Notae Latinae', p. 180).

Other MSS. (all, like these three, from Corbie Library) in the Corbie en-type are:

Paris 4403 Codex Theodosianus (plate xix, 10 in 'Cab. MSS.' shews the close, not open, *a*).

Paris (ff. 1-52, 74 col. ii — end of MS.) Cassiodore on the Psalms ('Cab. MSS.' pl. xvii, 1).

Paris 13028 Isidore's Etymologies xvi-xx (often with close *a*).

Paris 13347 (ff. 1-55) Jerome.

Paris 13348, 13349 Jerome.

Amiens 220 Paterius (part).

Petrograd O. I 4 Cassian's Collations.

(2) *The Leutchar-type* (pl. III).

This is the script of Petrograd F. I 6 Ambrose on St Luke, written at Corbie in the abbacy of Leutchar (middle of eighth century) and corrected by a later abbot of Corbie, Paschasius Ratbert (see Revue des Bibliothèques, xxii 406); also of its neighbour, F. I 5 Tripertite Psalter. Traube (Palaeographische Bemerkungen, p. 1) assigns the two to a 'zwischenstufe zwischen gallischer Halbunciale und Minuskel', a very vague

term under which he includes a variety of quite distinct types. Certainly the half-uncial look of the script, with its avoidance of ligature, is striking, as well as some peculiarities of letter-forms (e. g. the uncial *n* with horizontal cross-stroke on the line). Another example is at Berlin, Staatsbibliothek theol. lat. F. 354 Gregory's Moralia (pl. 5 of Arndt's Schrifttafeln), a volume (presented by Liudger?) from Werden Library. It may have been written at Corbie in Leutchar's time, some 50 years before Werden monastery was founded.

The Insular *y*, just described, is a prominent feature of this type of script (see line 13 of column ii of our plate, *allo-fylis*), a type represented, so far as I know, by these three MSS. only.

Our plate comes from fol. 1[r] of Petrograd F. I 6. The reduced size of Staerk's plates of this MS. and its neighbour spoils their value for palaeographical study and gives the reader anything but a true notion of the appearance of the Leutchar-type.

(3) *The Maurdramnus-type* (pll. IV-V).

Maurdramnus, abbot of Corbie 772-780, gave orders for a Bible to be written in several volumes (now n.[os] 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 in the Bibliothèque Communale of Amiens) and by several scribes. The text is written large (as in our pl. IV, from fol. 74[r] of n.° 6) for the convenience of the lector in the church-service, but the indexes are in ordinary minuscule size, the size found in other MSS. (as in our pl. V, from fol. 81[v] of Petrograd Q. I 16 Jerome's Liber Comitis).

This type is easily distinguishable, with its likeness to careful Caroline minuscule and the prominent knobs at the back of such letters as *f*, *s*. It too, like the other pair of types already mentioned, knows the Insular *y* (with left branch curved towards the right). Of other MSS. which offer good specimens of the script may be mentioned:

Petrograd F. I 13 Origen's Homilies.

Amiens 220 Paterius.

Paris 13373 Orosius, Alcuin, etc.

All three types are older than what Traube called 'the old script of Corbie', a type which is described (with plates) in Revue des Bibliothèques, xxii 405-429, and need not be

described here. It is now called 'the Corbie ab-script', and this name may be left unchallenged, although we might also call it 'the Adelhard type', since it was in the abbacy of Adelhard (under Charlemagne) that it fought a losing battle with Caroline minuscule. And just as the new Caroline minuscule and the old-fashioned ab-type were written during the same period in the Corbie scriptorium (e. g. in Bibl. Nat. lat. 11529-11530), so with other Corbie types. Though the en-type flourished at the earliest stage of all, we find it in an interlinear addition on fol. 117[r] of Amiens 6 (the Maurdramnus Bible); though the Maurdramnus type flourished in the years 772-780, it appears also in a Paris MS. which contains Alcuin and other writers. Bibl. Nat. lat. 13373, and can be dated between 817 and 835 (see pl. xxvi, 2 in 'Cab. MSS.'). We must therefore exercise due (not excessive) caution in using the Corbie-types as evidence for date. And it should be a task for palaeographers to trace the earliest approaches to this or that type as well as the latest developements. Many Corbie MSS. of the eighth century stand on the border-line between one type and another.

[Indeed we may add to these types a fourth type of eighth century Corbie minuscule, a fairly large minuscule (with close *a* and without 'i longa') which offers so few salient features that it is difficult to describe, but which is easily recognized after one has become familiar with it. It is contemporaneous with the en-type in Paris 12239, ff. 53-74 col. i, for the en-type immediately follows it on col. ii of fol. 74. Other MSS. in this script are Paris 12240-12241 Cassiodore; 12598 Vitae Sanctorum; 13047 Juvencus, etc.; 13347 (ff. 56-end) Jerome. ED.].

Finally, a word of caution. How ready we should be to infer that the Maurdramnus type (or the type just mentioned) was the immediate precursor of Caroline minuscule at Corbie scriptorium, had we not proof positive that the curious ab-type (a reversion to the cursive stage, with some Anglosaxon features, especially the abbreviation-symbol of *-tur*) had intervened. Let the palaeographer amass details and avoid rash inference.

[How this brief but, it is hoped, fairly accurate reproduction of Liebaert's views on the progress of minuscule from the early part of the eighth to the early part of the ninth

century at Corbie can help historical research may be illustrated from that huge glossary which played so important a part all through the Middle Ages, the Liber Glossarum ('Glossary of Ansileubus'). Two MSS. (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11529-11530; Cambrai 633), two fragmentary MSS. (Paris, Bibl. Ste Geneviève B 1, 19; Carlsruhe, Aug. fr. 140) are in the ab-type and suggest that no less than four transcripts of this enormous work (unless one or both fragments belong to either MS.) were produced in the Corbie scriptorium in the opening years of the ninth century. Palaeography, thanks to Liebaert and Traube, can prove this. And, using this palaeographical fact, the historian can infer the great likelihood that the glossary was a Corbie work, one of the vast undertaking of Charlemagne's reign. How far it was based on previous Spanish work is another problem which palaeography can help to solve. ED.]

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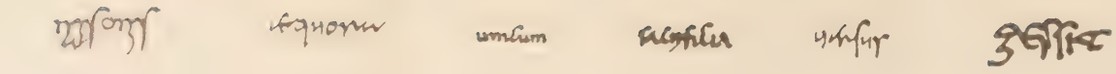

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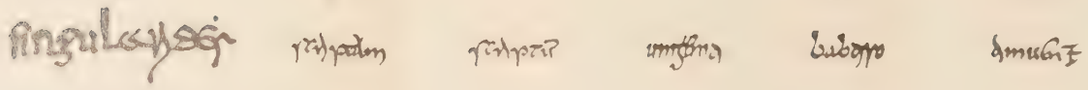

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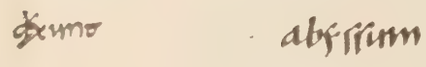

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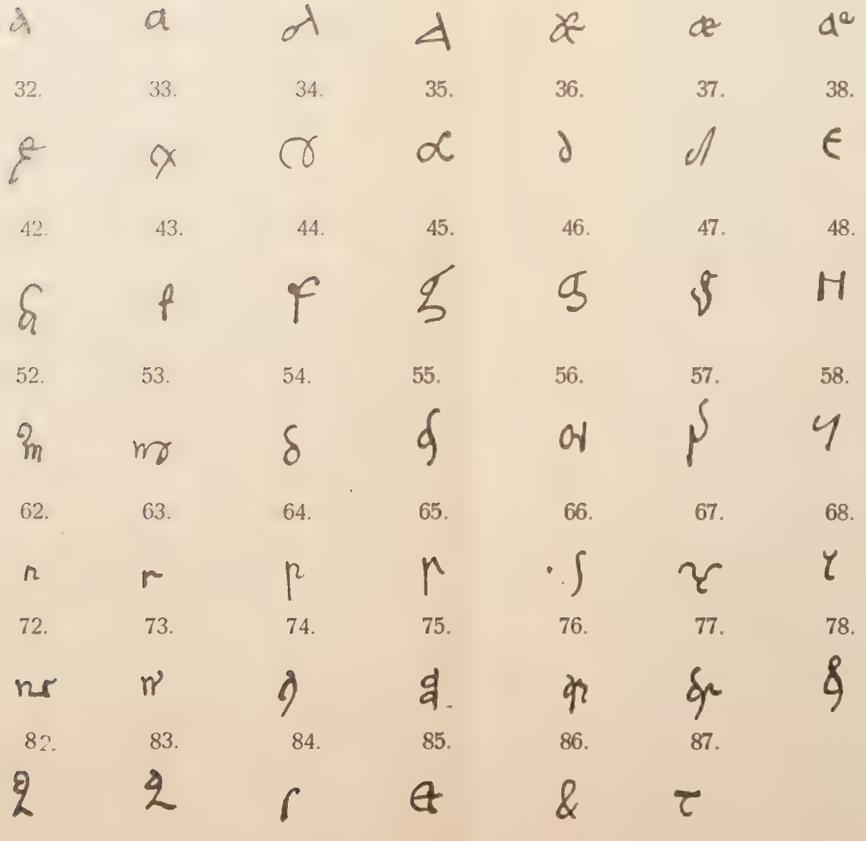

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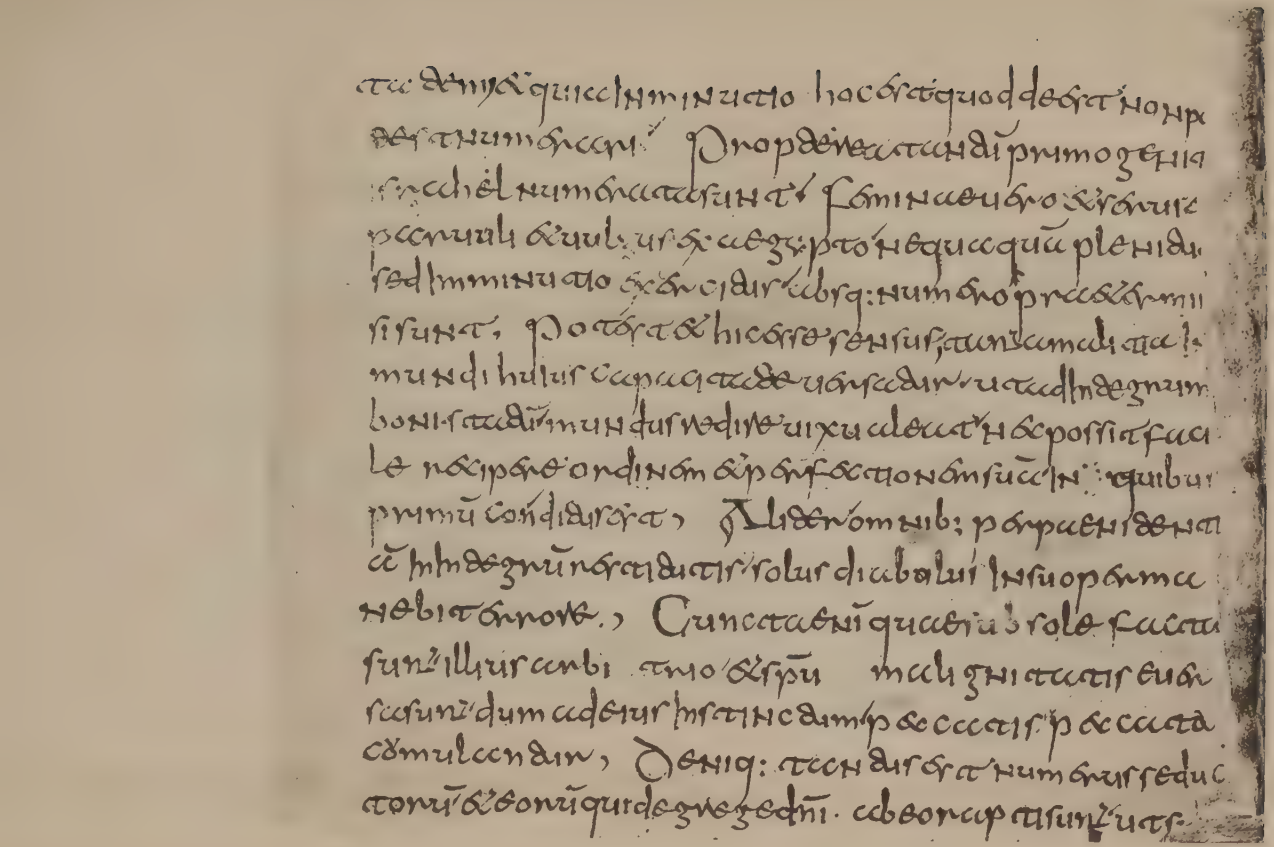

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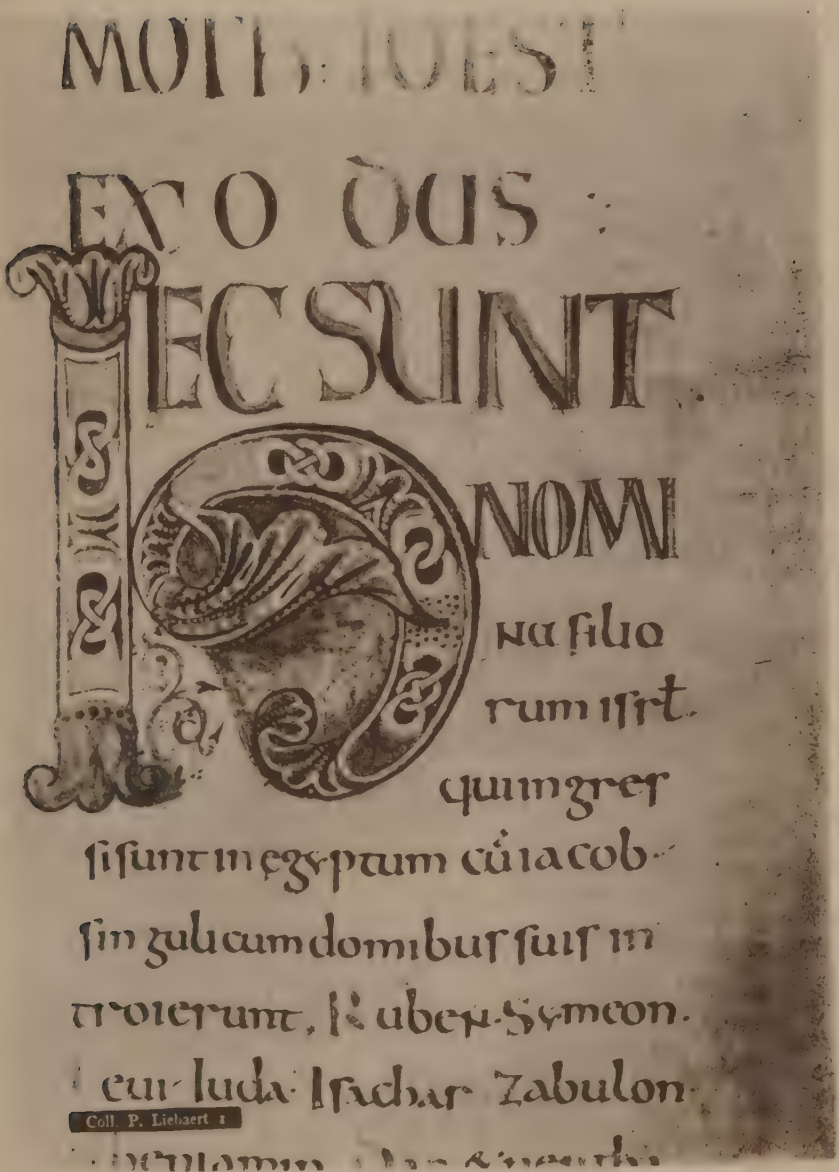
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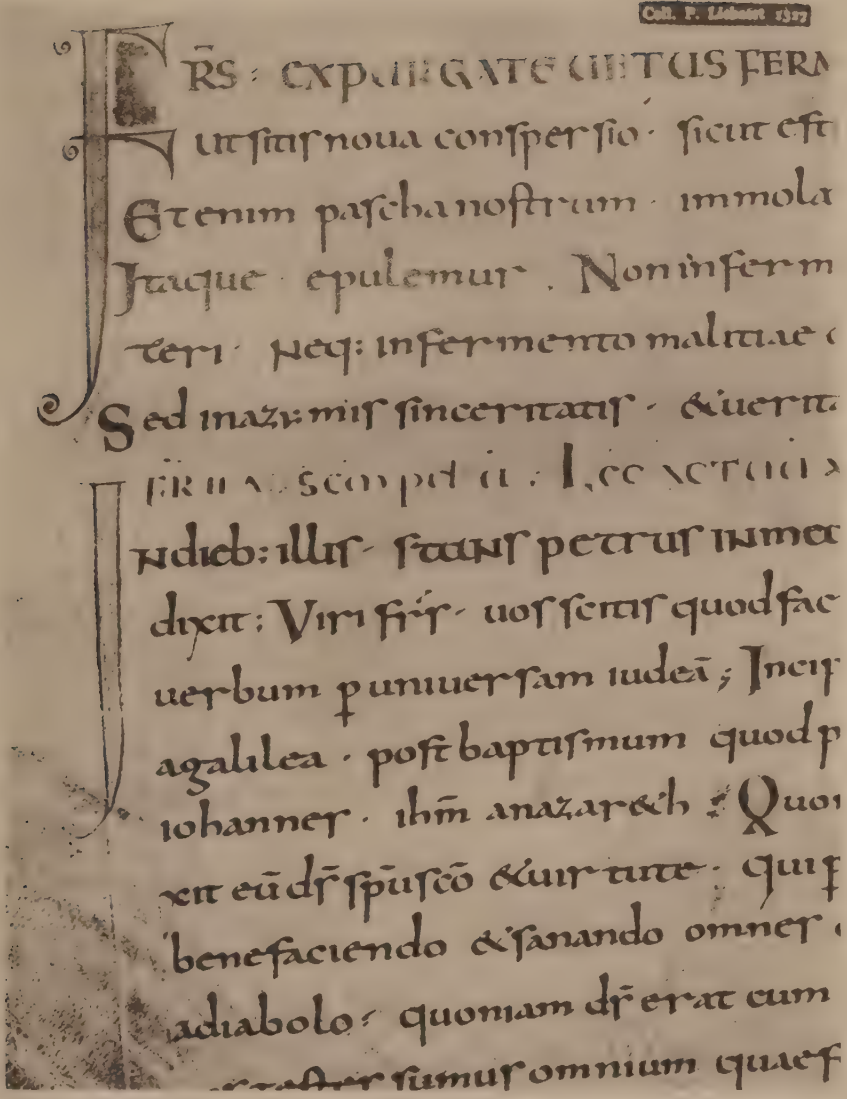

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Sed in azimis sinceritatis· & uerit
FERIAM· Sompti· I, CC XCVIII
Ndieb: illis· sanctis petrus in me
dixit: Viri fr̃s· uos scitis quod fac
uerbum p̃ uniuersam iudeā; Incip
a galilea· post baptismum quod p
iohannes· ihū̃ anazareth· Quo
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benefaciendo & sanando omnes
adiabolo· quoniam dñs erat cum
-rasser sumus omnium quae

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